

THE
WORKS
OF
TACITUS.

WITH
POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT
AUTHOR.

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

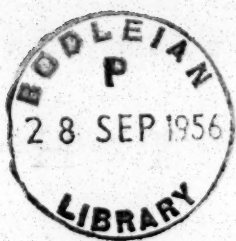
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MDCCCLXXVII,



TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS
F R E D E R I C
Prince of W A L E S.

S I R,

IN presuming to lay the following
Work before Your Royal Highness,
I am encouraged by the dignity of
the subject, by the great name of Tac-
tus, and by the sincerity of my own
heart, conscious of honest and loyal in-
tentions, and sincerely attached to the in-
terest of Your Illustrious Family, as well

as unfeignedly devoted to that of Your Person. But what gives me higher assurance, is a persuasion, that no attempt to serve and vindicate the cause of Liberty can fail of being countenanced by Your Royal Highness. Such countenance is worthy of a Prince of the House of Hanover, worthy of an Heir Apparent to the British Crown: Since this Cause is the noble foundation of Your Royal Father's Government, as we firmly hope it will be the glory of Your's, and as it is indeed the genuine glory of all Princes, glory arising from a true, a god-like source, even the well-being of Society and the general good of man. It is what all good and wise Princes will pursue as the surest bulwark of their Throne, as the brightest ornament in their Crown, and the best warrant for future praise.

Indeed ever suitable to the spirit and reign of a Prince will be his fame when he ceases to reign. After his death, men will use him as he in his life-time used them, with resentment or applause, with
honour

D E D I C A T I O N.

v

honour or reproach. A living Prince who is hated may be flattered, perhaps the more flattered for being hated, as flattery is often no more than a disguise for aversion, at least for the want of affection; and the grosser it is, the more it answers the end. Nay, every Prince in the world would surely abhor all flatterers, if he considered that whoever flatters him must needs also condemn him: Since it can never be supposed, that any would venture to mislead him, by vile arts to gain selfish ends, unless they entertained withal a very mean opinion of his understanding. But when death, which flatters no man, has bereft him of his power and lustre, when he is laid low, and can no longer terrify or prefer, flattery which only followed his fortune, and studied to deceive him for interest, will, like all false friends, desert his memory. Then, though perhaps he was never told that he had any faults (whereas from some no man was ever exempt) a thousand will probably be objected to him, perhaps with many invidious aggravations. Even they who

had fed him with constant incense, and long blinded him with the smoke of it, instead of now vindicating one whom so lately they adored, will perhaps join in the cry against him, and be foremost in upbraiding him with errors which they would never suffer him to see, probably caused him to commit.

Such, Sir, is the experience to be learned from History, such the useful lessons which it affords to Princes. They will there see that, where fear or interest governs the hearts of men, guile will be apt to guide their tongues, and that, as it is in the power of Princes to hurt or oblige numbers, there will always be numbers ready to deceive them; and they can hope to hear plain truth but from very few; that there have been some, indeed too many, who seem never to have heard any truth at all, at least, where it was of any importance to their duty and government, though it so nearly concerned them; because from their hearing or not hearing it, infinite good or infinite evil was to redound to their people,

people, as well as to their own quiet and fame.

Hence History is to be carefully consulted as a faithful Monitor, upon which nor awe nor hopes have any influence; a Monitor which nakedly represents the actions of Princes and the result of those actions, what measures tended to their credit and ease, what to their anguish and dishonour; how liable they are to be deceived, how readily abandoned by deceivers; how several very good men proved very bad Princes, by being misled by evil servants, such as carefully deprived them of the counsel and assistance of the best; and how differently men speak of Princes and to Princes, how differently of the living and of the dead. And hence may be seen the apparent, the precious value of truth, how many have been undone for want of hearing it, how many might have prospered better had they known it.

From History a Prince will discern, that a Country well governed does well

reward and secure its Governor, but that by evil Government he is precluded from all tranquility here, and from any honourable name hereafter: That whatever destroys his people, is destructive to himself, for they are his glory and strength. So that in taking an affectionate care of his people he does but fortify his Throne, of which they are the best guards; does but procure his own ease and stability, and purchase an excellent and unperishing name.

It will be there learned that he may indeed find men to serve him even where his commands are unjust; but, besides that services which are disliked are seldom chearfully performed, they who perform them will first or last, to excuse themselves, throw all the blame and scandal upon him. He will find that of just commands only, no Prince has any cause to be ashamed; and that all honest services every honest man will be forward to execute, all men ready to justify: That between the interest of a Prince, who acts justly, and the interest of his people,

people, there can never be any competition or disagreement: That whatever he gains from them unjustly, will yield him bitter fruits; that though many will be ready to humour him at all adventures, none are fit, none worthy to serve him, but such as in serving him study also the happiness of his subjects; that to exhaust or oppress them, to vitiate and debase them, can never be for his interest, nor such as do it for him or advise him to do it, his real friends: That whatever measures of his injure the Public, must be injurious to him, and that nothing which is unjust can bring him any real advantage.

He will see that, in the nature and ordinary course of things, evil counsels are followed by painful consequences, and that no pursuits whatever which are not worthy and upright, can secure rest and comfort to the human soul: That the most successful conquerors, the most fortunate wicked men, have by their wicked counsels been bereft of all calmness and internal felicity (for, other than

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internal.

internal there is none) and lived under perpetual insecurity, or perpetual struggles and anxiety : That the great, the able and accomplished Cæsar was often pressed by distress and despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own sword ; and that after a restless life, full of hurry and perplexity, full of fears and cares, he perished just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own happiness : That whoever makes numbers unhappy and discontented, cannot expect to be easy and happy himself : That happy, truly happy, is he who does good to all men, who causes whole Nations to rejoice and to bless him : That had Cæsar, in order to preserve and secure Public Liberty, done what he did to destroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the same industry and admirable talents, what an amiable character he had been, in what security he might have lived ! or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died.

History

History will shew, that the most powerful Princes in the world grow insecure as soon as they grow oppressive, when so great a Monarch as John Basilowitz of Muscovy, he who held States so vast in extent, and authority without bounds, could negotiate as he did, with the Embassador of our greater Queen Elizabeth (greater because beloved, and observing the Laws) for a retreat and protection in England under an apprehension of being expelled from his own Kingdom; a fate which he daily dreaded, though he had many flatterers who applauded all his oppressions and errors, especially his extreme bigotry to Saints and Masses: That thus insecure, thus miserable and fearful did the rigor of his Government and overmuch Power render him; and in such safety and credit did that excellent Queen reign, because her Throne was established in Liberty and Righteousness. She might have said with the renowned Emperor Cyrus, that she could not conceive how a Prince could fail of being beloved, if he seriously endeavoured to be so.

As

As in History a Prince will see cause for not distrusting his faithful servants, since from overmuch diffidence, he may alike hurt himself; he will likewise perceive the necessity of inspecting his own affairs, and of not trusting blindly to others: He will see what a mean figure such Princes made, who lazily transferred their great office to Favourites, will see their uneasy and unfortunate reigns. From hence he will make the same observation which Schah Abbas, the Emperor of Persia, made to a creature of his, who told him, that he degraded the Royal Majesty by being seen too much by his people. "No," said that able Prince: "It is owing to the tricks and
" frauds of Flatterers, that a Prince is
" shut up in solitude, whence they them-
" selves may have the more scope to ty-
" rannize in his name. He who would
" truly reign, must see all, and direct all."
He will find cause for giving up guilty Ministers to the just complaints of his subjects, and for supporting the innocent

cent against all the clamours of faction, since the best may be traduced, and the bad to save themselves, may ruin him.

He will there learn, that all the doings of a prince, however studiously concealed, are in danger of being commonly known; that all his pursuits, counsels, and pleasures are likely in time to be published and canvassed, probably misconstrued, and judged with rigour: That to all his actions, to all his words, there will be many officious witnesses, many greedy, perhaps unfaithful listeners: That this is a lot unseparably annexed to an elevated state; and thence he will be convinced how much it concerns him to do and to say nothing unworthy of himself, nothing justly to offend his People.

He will find the noblest designs for the Public Good often marred by malignant spirits, through private pique and the gratification of a particular passion; find one man, or party of men, frequently

quently combining to distress, perhaps to destroy their Country, because another man, or party of men was employed to serve it or to save it. He will find personal and domestic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulsions in the State, such as have threatened its downfall; like the first quarrel between Livius Drusus and Servilius Cæpio at Rome, in the time of the Commonwealth, a quarrel that rent all the City into angry Parties. Yet from what mighty cause did it begin? From no other than that the two families happened to bid upon one another for a Gold Ring at an Auction. Hence he will learn to stifle betimes the beginning of faction in the State.

He will find that a Prince trusting to flattery and surrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved; nay, whilst he is persuaded that he is. Hence he will resolve to beware of such as are always soothing him, resolve, in order to gain the love of his People, to do things which shall convince

convince them that he loves them, as the surest way of making them love him, and of knowing that they do.

He will perceive that all the goods of Fortune are transient and perishing, that Fortune, even when she smiles most, may prove untoward and desert him, like that of the great Kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, who, whilst secure of their power, boasting in their might, and resigned to luxury and banquetting, felt a terrible reverse, the one degraded, the other slain. He will find, that of all the felicities of this world, and amongst all its possessions, Virtue alone is that which can never perish, never forsake him. Nor power nor youth, nor pleasure can be stayed or secured against malice, and time, and accidents. But Virtue is a sure support, always present and unchangeable, above envy, above rage, and fate. Even he who perishes for his Virtue, is happier than one who by oppressing Virtue acquires Empires.

By

By Virtue Your Royal Highness will easily conceive to be here understood the solid and extensive Virtue of a Prince, such as prompts him to do good to all men, such as restrains him from injuring any, and not an unmanly fondness for fanciful observances and forms, nor a propensity to monkish devotions, nor his fostering and enriching Hypocrites and Bigots: things which such men generally miscall by that venerable name, or at least consider as equivalents for the want of it in other and more important instances, the notable misguidance, and sometimes to the ruin of Kings, such especially as were devout, but tyrannical, and by humouring Bigots, were encouraged in their Tyranny.

He will find, that as true Valour is a glorious quality, which has no other aim than the welfare of Society, and the chastisement of such as disturb it; so a wanton Spirit of fighting and conquering is always mischievous to the world, without bringing him who has it any
solid

solid advantages, but always much guilt, danger and disquiet; that it proves generally pernicious to himself, almost ever destructive to the conquered: That such diffusive mischief is but diffusive infamy, though he may judge so ill as to aim at public adoration and fame; and that it were desirable, for the quiet and welfare of human kind, that such romantic Destroyers, such sanguinary Lunatics, were locked up in Mad-houses, or in Dens, with their less mischievous brethren, possessed with humbler distraction, and satiated with less blood.

He will see much ground for approving the advice of Isocrates, not to envy Princes who possess vast territories, but only to emulate such as know how to preserve and improve their own. He will be convinced, that Princes who have the smallest Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well; and that vast Empires, instead of growing more flourishing and populous, grow generally Desarts. He will perceive the unspeakable advantages of public Liberty,
the

the singular prosperity of Free States, how superior to such are not free, in Strength, People, and Wealth; that all these advantages accrue to the Prince, whenever he wants them for public ends; and that no other ends can he have, if he consult his duty and glory, since in promoting the felicity of his State both his glory and his duty are found: That he who separates himself from his People, can only earn insecurity and reproach; nor aught else can he expect but reproach, and the severest, if he strive against the happiness of his subjects, and bring misery upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect. He will consider what anguish it must be to a Prince whose Subjects are oppressed and enslaved, to see how infinitely such as are free surpass his, to compare their plenty and ease with the poverty and meanness of his own. He will find small Free States contending against great Empires with superior Prowess and Might; find a single City baffling the efforts of mighty absolute kings, like that of Seleucia, which for several years together repulsed

repulsed the whole power of Parthia ; and that Tacitus had reason to say, that the Romans had always found the Germans, who were ever a free People, a much more terrible enemy than the mighty Parthian Monarchy.

Your Royal Highness is born to govern a People the most free upon earth, a People always free, yet always obedient to Royal Authority tempered by Laws, but ever impatient of encroachments and oppression. This is the character given them by Tacitus sixteen hundred years ago, “ That they chearfully
“ complied with the levies of men, with
“ the imposition of Tribute, and with
“ all the duties of Government, provided they received no illegal treatment or insults from their Governors :
“ for, those they bore with impatience ;
“ nor had they been any further subdued
“ by the Romans, than only to obey
“ just Laws, but never to submit to be
“ Slaves.”

Such, Sir, was the Genius of the British People then, such it has continued,
and

and such it remains : They were always peaceable Subjects to Princes who observed the Laws, very uneasy and discontented under such as set themselves above Law, and therefore lost all by grasping at too much. As long as the chief Ruler kept his Oath, the people kept their Allegiance, generally longer. They have been always fond of Monarchy modelled and limited by laws. Nor does such limitation infer any insufficiency or defect in this sort of Government, but only that the Monarch is secured against committing errors, and suffering for them, from hurting himself and his people. It is undoubtedly the most desirable and complete form that the good fortune of men has hitherto produced, or their wit been capable of contriving, and allows all the Liberty and Protection which Subjects can want from Government, all the true Grandeur and Dignity which Princes can desire from Empire, even the unlimited Power of doing good. Of more Liberty than it affords us we are hardly capable, and an endeavour to extend it much further might break it : As indeed
Liberty

Liberty, as well as Power, then always ceases to be secure, whenever it is turned into licentiousness. No civilized Nation in the World enjoys so much ; nor is there any Government existing, where the malice of men in Power has left scope than here, or fewer opportunities of distressing or destroying such as they dislike.

This Constitution has indeed been often shaken, sometimes oppressed ; but having its foundations very deep and strong, it still recovered its ancient frame and vigour, to its own honour, and to the lasting contumely, often to the ruin, of such as had crushed it. The power of the Crown, and the privilege of the Subjects, are fortunately proportioned. They have Liberty enough to make them happy : The Crown, has authority enough to maintain and increase that happiness, and therefore possesses all the glory which can adorn a Crown. This is the true and substantial renown of Princes. Any other renown than this is all adulterate and forged ; nor could there be greater
vanity

vanity than that of a late enterprizing Monarch, who pretended to high glory, thought to gain it he was beggaring and oppressing his Subjects. A Prince can then truly boast his glory, when his People can boast their freedom and ease. This, Sir, is the lot with which we are now blessed under the mild and just Government of Your Royal Father; and, when he has finished his Reign with great renown and length of days, we see much cause for presuming upon the same happy lot from the Reign of Your Royal Highness.

As in the following History, composed by a man of extraordinary wisdom, there are found many excellent rules and lessons for the conduct of Princes, with many affecting warnings taken from the ill fate of such as observed not these rules, I humbly present it to Your Royal Highness. This I do with very affectionate zeal for your interest and honour, and am utterly unbiaſſed by any such motives as usually produce Dedications to Princes. The whole of my request and ambition
is,

DEDICATION. xxiii

is, that this address, and the following History and Discourses, may be graciously accepted, and that to myself may be allowed the honour of being ever esteemed what I sincerely am, with intire duty, submission and respect,

SIR,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most, Humble, most Dutiful

and most Obedient Servant ;

T. GORDON.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K I.

The S U M M A R Y.

The Decay of good Historians, whence : the partiality of Writers, why. What copious matter for the following History. The condition of the City, Armies, and Provinces, upon the death of Nero. Galba disliked : the wickedness of his Ministers : the Soldiery discontented. Of Vespasian, Mucianus, and the forces in the East. Those in Germany revolt. Galba adopts Piso : Otho conspires against both, corrupts the Prætorian guards, and is by them saluted Emperor. Galba and Piso murdered : their Characters. What terror prevails in the City. Vitellius proclaimed Emperor, by whom and how. The march of his Army and General into Italy : he himself follows. His luxury and stupidity. The cruelty and rapine of his Generals Cæcina and Valens. The behaviour of Otho ; he and Vitellius strive to over-reach one another. Combustions in Mœsia,
Vol III. B but

but repressed. The terrible spirit of the soldiers in the City, their disorders and insurrections: they require to have the whole Senate murdered: are with difficulty appeased by Otho. The melancholy state of Rome: Otho leaves it, and proceeds to war.—All these the transactions of a few months.

WITH the second Consulship of Servius Galba, who had Titus Vinius for his Colleague, I shall begin this Work. For, the preceding history, eight hundred and twenty years backwards to the foundation of Rome, has been by divers authors compiled, who, in recounting the transactions of the Roman people, have acquitted themselves with an eloquence equal to their freedom or spirit altogether unconfined. But when after the battle of Actium public peace could be no otherwise obtained, than by throwing the whole power into the hands of one, all such noble writers disappeared. Moreover, towards the impairing and corrupting of truth, many other causes concurred: As first, the Republic, being but one man's property, Rome was become to her own Citizens like another State, foreign and unknown. Then ensued a servile proneness to idolize the Emperors, or an equal detestation of their persons and power. So that, between the complaisance of some, and the resentment of others, the care of informing posterity was lost. It is true, that against a fawning writer we are easily upon our guard; but greedily swallowed are calumnies and bitterness; since, while in sycophancy there appears the detestable blot of servitude and debasement, detraction and invective come covered under the disguise of boldness and free speech. To me neither Galba, nor Otho, nor Vitellius was known by any act of favour or injustice. That my promotion in the state was begun by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and by Domitian advanced

vanced yet higher, I would by no means disown. But by those who profess to deliver truth, naked and uncorrupt, nor personal affection nor personal hate must be admitted into their Characters of men. If life remain, I have reserved for the employment of my old age, the reign of the deified Nerva, with that of the Emperor Trajan; a work more copious, as well as more safe: Such is the rare felicity of these times, when you are at full liberty to entertain what sentiments you please, and to declare what sentiments you entertain.

My present attempt is to describe a time abounding in surprising events; tragical in battles and slaughter; full of fury and faction; a time horrible and bloody even in the intervals of peace: Four Emperors were slain by the sword; three fierce civil wars; foreign wars still more; generally a sad mixture of both: Our affairs indeed successful in the East, but in the West melancholy and disastrous: Commotions begun in Illyricum, and beginning in both the Gauls; Britain reduced, and just after lost: The Suevian people, and those of Sarmatia, confederated against us; the name of the Dacians, for the many bloody defeats, sometimes sustained by us, sometimes returned upon them, become great and renowned: The Parthians ready to arm upon the appearance of a counterfeit Nero: Italy in the mean time afflicted with fresh calamities altogether tragical, or with old, after a long intermission, revived: The fairest cities of Campania swallowed up or overthrown, and that fine territory, fruitful above all others, covered with desolation: Rome itself, by frequent conflagrations, laid waste; her temples, the most venerable and ancient, utterly consumed; nay, the capitol burnt down by the hands of Romans: Religion profaned; mighty and daring adulteries: The Isles peopled with Exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood.

But more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at Rome: It was treasonable to be noble, or to be rich, or to have borne honours, or to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was inevitable destruction. Nor were the baneful villainies of the Informers more shocking than their mighty and distinguishing rewards; whilst upon some were bestowed, as the spoils of the State, the Pontifical dignities and those of the Consulship: Others were sent with Procuratorial authority into the Provinces: Some were made prime confidants and ministers at home; and in every station, exerted all their terrors, and pursuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned against their Masters, Freedmen against their Patrons; and such as had no enemies, were betrayed and undone by their friends.

The age however was not so utterly forsaken of all virtue, but that it likewise afforded laudable examples of friendship and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their banished sons, wives who followed their husbands into exile; in kindred were found resolution and succour; in sons-in-law constancy and duty; in slaves such fidelity as mocked all the menaces and horror of the torture; illustrious men struggling under keen distress, supporting it nobly, and their fortitude in death equal to that of the most celebrated ancients. Besides the endless emergencies and rotations which were purely human; there appeared in the earth and the air, such signs as were more than natural, the tumult and menaces of thunder, and other prophetic warnings; but all strangely varying, joyful, terrible, doubtful, apparent. In truth, as never had more tragical calamities befallen the Roman people, never was it proved by more evident indications, that not for our protection, but for their own vengeance, is the providence of the Gods over us.

But

But before I begin the thread of my story, it seems necessary to represent the condition of the City, the spirit of the several Armies, the state and disposition of the Provinces, with our political advantages and weaknesses in the whole Roman world; that hence may be learnt not only the last result of things, which for the most part seems fortuitous, but their causes too and first movements. As the death of Nero pass'd for a public blessing, especially in the first Sally of joy; so it awakened different passions in the minds of men, not only at Rome, in the Senate, People, and City-troops, but in all the Legions every where, and in the Leaders of the Legions; as then first was disclosed a secret of government which affected all these interests; "that elsewhere than at Rome an Emperor could be created." The Senators rejoicing in their ancient liberty just resumed, exercised it with the greater boldness, as Galba was a new Prince, not yet established, and absent. The principal Roman Knights were, next to the Senators, inspired with the same pleasing passion. Such of the people as remained uncorrupt, and were attached to the interest of the great families, with the followers and freedmen of persons condemned to death or exile, became revived with vigorous hopes. The Vulgar sunk in sordidness and debauchery, and inured to the idle amusements of the Theatre and the Circus; with them the viler sort of bondmen; or others who having wasted their fortunes, subsisted by the infamous Vices of Nero, were all struck with sadness, all greedy of rumours and innovations.

The soldiery of Rome, possessed with long and sworn fealty to the family of the Cæsars, and from no bias in themselves, but rather by artifice and instigation, urged to desert Nero; after they found that the promise of a donative in Galba's name was unfulfilled; that there was not in peace, as in war,

equal scope for mighty merit and mighty recompences; and that the favour of a Prince created by the Legions, would be engrossed by the Legions; became abandoned to novel designs, in which they were further animated by the treasonable practices of Nymphidius their Captain, who had embarked in measures to seize the Sovereignty. It is true, that in the very attempt Nymphidius perished. But, though the head of the conspiracy was cut off, most of the soldiers had been engaged in it, and their disaffection remained. Nor did they refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying Galba for his old age and avarice. That severity of his, a quality so admired of old, and by the ancient armies ever distinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery scorning the primitive discipline, and for fourteen years so habituated to the base reign of Nero, that at this time they no less admired the vileness and vices of their Princes, than of old they had adored their virtues. The disaffection was heightened by a saying of Galba's, worthy indeed of virtue and the Commonwealth, but perilous to himself; *that he chose his soldiers, and did not buy them.* Neither did the rest of his conduct correspond with this good rule.

Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, his ministers, the one of all men the most pestilently wicked, the other the most worthless and abject, deriving upon him the weight and infamy of their own numberless iniquities, and scorn upon the impotency of the administration, involved the Prince, already enfeebled with age, in utter ruin. Slow and bloody was his march to Rome, as in it had been slain Cingonius Varro, Consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, who had been Consul; the former as an accomplice in the Conspiracy of Nymphidius, Petronius for having command as General under Nero; both thought to have perished as innocents, as they died

died without being heard in their own defence. His public entry into the City, after the massacre of so many thousand soldiers destitute of arms, was of boding aspect, and terrible even to those by whose swords they had fallen. A Spanish Legion was by him brought into the City, where likewise remained another, one enrolled by Nero out of the Marines. So that Rome was filled with an army altogether new and extraordinary there. For, besides all these forces, there were many more from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum; such as had been thence detached by Nero, and sent forwards to the Caspian streights, for the war which he meditated against the Albanians, but recalled to suppress the revolt of Vindex in Gaul. These were mighty and abundant materials for public combustions and changes; in truth, not all directly combining in favour of any particular, yet all prepared for the next daring spirit.

At the same juncture it fortun'd, that the assassination of Clodius Macer, and that of Fonteius Capito, were divulged. Macer, whilst he rais'd manifest commotion in Africa, was by Trebonius Garucianus, the Imperial Procurator there, at the command of Galba, slain; and Capito in Germany for the same crime, by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, Commanders of the Legions, without slaying for the Emperor's command. There were who believed that Capito, however abominable he were, stained with avarice, and immersed in impurities, had yet declined to engage in any turbulent counsels; that having rejected the solicitations of Aquinus and Valens to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treason; and that Galba, whether from unsteadiness of spirit, or afraid of making deeper scrutiny, and seeming to approve their conduct, whatever it were, seeing whatever it were, it could not

be recalled, ratified the execution. However it were, both these executions, that of Macer as well as that of Capito, were sadly received; the usual fate of every Prince under public hate; since every action of his, whether good or evil, is invidiously construed, and contributes to undo him. Already too his Freedmen, indulged in immoderate power, were exposing to common sale all the honours and emoluments of the State. His Bondmen also were greedy to profit by their sudden sunshine, and eager to convert into hasty gains the short reign of an ancient Master. So that in the Court of Galba appeared all the evils and excesses lately seen in that of Nero, and were equally grievous, but not equally excused. To those who were accustomed to behold the youth and gay person of Nero; even the age of Galba was matter of derision and hate; agreeably to the genius of the Vulgar, in their comparing of Princes, always to prefer figure and personal grace.

Such was the temper of men at Rome, suitable to that of a multitude so mighty and various. For the Provinces; Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus, an eloquent man, qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war. Both the Gauls, besides that they still revered the memory of Vindex, were retained by recent obligations, the privilege of Roman Citizens, and the reduction of their Tribute. Those Gallic cities, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, as they were not distinguished with the like honours, but some of them even shortened of their territory, felt the same measure of indignation from the advantages repeated by others, as from the indignities done to themselves. Amongst the German armies appeared a spirit altogether threatening in forces so mighty. From the pride of their late victory, they were become exulting and furious; and, from fear of being

ing charged with espousing an opposite cause, anxious and distrustful. Late and slow had been their revolt from Nero; neither had Virginius their General declared immediately for Galba. Whether he studied to make himself Emperor is uncertain, but universally agreed, that the soldiery had tendered him the Empire. By the slaying of Capito, even such as could not complain that it was undeserved, were yet piqued and enraged. What they wanted was a leader; Virginius having been, under the shew of friendship, removed from them; and in his person, as he was not restored, but his conduct even arraigned, they conceived themselves to be charged as delinquents.

The Army in Upper Germany contemned their Commander, Hordeonius Flaccus, one, from his lameness and the infirmities of age, unwieldy and decrepid, void of firmness, void of authority; unequal, in truth, to the direction of a soldiery the most orderly and peaceable, so that, under their present frenzy, they were even further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to restrain them. The Legions in Lower Germany had been a good while without a Commander of Consular name; till now by Galba, Vitellius was sent, the son of that Vitellius who had been Censor and thrice Consul. This to the Emperor seemed sufficient. The Army in Britain was free from all disorder and the rage of parties. None, in truth, of all our Legions lived more inoffensively than they, during all the heat and uproar of the civil wars; perhaps because they were remote, and separated by the sea; or perhaps by frequent action in the field, they had been inured upon a foreign foe rather to spend their hate. Illyricum remained in tranquility; though the Legions called from thence by Nero, had, while they tarried idle in Italy, applied by ambassadors and solicitations, to Virginius. But as by long tracts

of countries the two armies were disjointed, (the most wholesome expedient to secure the faith of soldiers) they neither united their forces, nor communicated their infection and crimes.

The East continued hitherto free from all commotion. Licinius Mucianus, at the head of four Legions governed Syria, a man equally signal for the favours and for the frowns of fortune. In his youth he had, by all arts and address, courted the favour of men in power. His estate being then wasted, his condition desperate, the indignation too of Claudius threatening him, he crept into retirement in Asia, and there lived as near to the state of an exile, as he was afterward to that of a sovereign. In him centered a strange combination of qualities good and bad, luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complaisance; during recess, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities when business urged him. Hence his equal shares of praise and reproach, as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. But being a great master in all the several arts of engaging, he was mighty in credit with those who were under him, or about him, or in equal authority with him; such a man, finally, as could easier make an Emperor than be one. The war against the Jews was conducted by Flavius Vespasianus, at the head of three Legions; a command to which he had been preferred by Nero. Nor against Galba did Vespasian harbour any unkind wish or distaste; nay, he had dispatched away his son Titus to perform fealty and homage; as in its place we shall remember. That the Empire was by the invisible laws of fate, by prodigies divinely sent, and by the responses of Oracles, foretold and ordained to Vespasian and his sons; was what we believed after we had seen them Emperors.

The government of Egypt, with the command of the troops which bridled it, had, from the times of Augustus,

Augustus, been invested in the Roman Knights with the Authority of its ancient Kings. Such precaution he thought necessary, to retain under his own inspection the government of a kingdom surrounded with seas and deserts, abounding in grain, intoxicated with superstition, addicted to riot, and thence prone to feuds and sedition; unacquainted with the restraints of law, and insensible of duty to magistrates. Tiberius Alexander ruled at this time there, himself a native of Egypt. Africa and the Legions in it were disposed to submit to any Emperor whatsoever, now Clodius Macer was slain; having in him proved the government of an humbler master. The two Mauritanias, Rætia, Noricum, Thrace, and the other countries administered by Procurators, adopted the temper of the several armies lying next them, and were instigated by love or hate to the different factions, according to the neighbourhood and influence of the stronger. The Provinces which were unarmed, and Italy itself principally, lay open to be enslaved by the next invader, whoever he were, and to become the prize of war and conquest. In this situation stood the Roman affairs, when Servius Galba in his second Consulship, with Titus Vinius for his Colleague, began the year, which to them proved the last, and upon the Commonwealth well nigh brought her final doom.

Early in January arrived advices from Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgic Gaul, that the Legions in higher Germany, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiously to have another Emperor, and to the pleasure of the Senate and People of Rome referred the free election of one; as from such complaisance they hoped to merit a lighter censure of this their revolt. It was this intelligence that ripened the design about which Galba had for some time been deliberating within himself, as well as in concert with his confidants,

concern-

concerning the adoption of a successor. Nor in truth had any subject, during the few months of his reign, so much filled all mouths throughout the city; not from the licentious freedom only, and fondness of canvassing public counsels and events, but in consideration of the crazy age of Galba. Few indeed possessed any affection for the Public, or capacity to judge of it; but numbers, out of secret and selfish views, awarded the adoption to this patron, or to that friend, spreading his fame in cabals. They even found motives equally strong from their hate of Titus Vinius, who growing daily more potent, grew thence daily more detested. For such was the weakness and acquiescence of Galba, that by it the avarice of his friends, already insatiable, and ravening according to the measure of his sovereign fortune, was further heightened and excited; whilst under a Prince thus feeble and credulous, their iniquities were attended with the smallest peril, and with gains the more mighty.

The whole power of the Sovereignty was shared between Titus Vinius the Consul, and Cornelius Laco, Captain of the Prætorian Guards. Nor inferior to either in grace and authority was Icelus his Freedman, now vested by the Gold ring with the order of Knighthood, and every-where called by an equestrian name, Martianus. These favourites, already at variance, and in smaller instances pursuing each his own separate views, were in their sentiments about choosing a successor, divided into two factions. Vinius was for Otho: Laco and Icelus were combined together, not so much to favour the interest of any particular, as that of any particular but him. Neither was the friendship between Otho and Titus Vinius unknown to Galba, who had learnt it from the reports of such as are wont to comment upon all things. For as Vinius had a daughter who was a widow, and Otho was
not

not married, it was taken for granted that an alliance between them was intended. It is my own opinion, that Galba was, moreover, moved by a concern for the commonwealth, which was in vain rescued from Nero, were it to devolve upon Otho. For, in a manner loose and idle had Otho wasted his tender years, in scandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to Nero purely by imitating his profligate life. To him, therefore, as to the chief confident in his impure pleasures, had Nero committed the keeping of his beloved mistress, Poppæa Sabina, till he could accomplish the removal of Octavia his wife; but soon suspecting him for a rival, he sent him to Lusitania, where the administration of that province furnished a pretence for keeping him from Rome. In Lusitania he governed with gentleness and popularity; was the foremost to espouse the cause of Galba, nor failed to promote it with vigour; and while the war continued, made the noblest figure of all who attended it; and the hopes which, from such recommendations, he had instantly conceived of the adoption, continued daily to transport him more and more, as he was favoured by most of the soldiery, and as all the courtiers and creatures of Nero were passionate for a Prince so resembling the late one.

Galba the while, who after tidings of the sedition in Germany (though of Vitellius he hitherto knew nothing certain) was beset with anxieties; full of fears whither the furies of the armies might tend, nor in truth trusting to the faith of the troops in Rome; applied what to him seemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a successor. To it, besides Vinus and Laco, having summoned Marius Celsus, Consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, Governor of Rome, he, after a short speech concerning his own great age, ordered Piso Licinianus to be sent for; it is uncertain whether of his own motion

motion and choice, or, as some believed, by the persuasions of Laco; as between him and Piso there had passed an intercourse of friendship at the house of Rubellius Plautus. But he artfully recommended Piso as one to himself unknown; and to this his counsel had accrued the character of sincerity from the reputation of the recommended, altogether eminent and unblemished. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scribonia, and both by father and mother nobly born; his aspect and demeanour resembling those of the ancient Romans; and such as, in candid estimation, passed for grave; but by those who judged censoriously, accounted melancholy and austere. That part of his temper, which alarmed the discontented, pleased the person adopting.

Galba therefore, taking Piso by the hand, is said to have spoke in the following strain: “ Were I,
“ as a private man, to adopt you for my son, by
“ virtue of the law *Curiata*, in the presence of the
“ Pontiffs, according to the ordinary usage; glorious even then would be the adoption to us
“ both; as with the blood of the great Pompey
“ and Marcus Crassus, my family would be enriched; and the nobility of your house derive
“ fresh splendor from the signal lustre and renown
“ of the Sulpitian and Lutatian race. I am now
“ a public person. by the united consent of Gods
“ and men, called to the Empire; and of this very
“ Sovereignty, for which our ancestors contended
“ with arms, I, who by war have obtained it, do
“ offer you the possession, while you are neither
“ seeking nor pursuing it: A gift to which I am
“ urged only by the love of my country, and your
“ own excellent qualifications. In this I follow
“ the example of the deified Augustus, who assumed
“ successively, for his partners in power, first
“ his sister’s son Marcellus, next his son-in-law
“ Agrippa, afterwards his grandsons; lastly, his
“ wife’s

“ wife’s son Tiberius. But Augustus, who would
“ entail the empire upon his own house, in his
“ own house sought a successor: I chuse out of the
“ Commonwealth an heir to the Commonwealth.
“ Not that I am reduced to this choice by any
“ want of relations to my blood, or of fellow
“ commanders in war. But neither did I, no
“ more than you, arrive at supreme power by any
“ efforts of ambition; and my thus overlooking
“ your relations as well as my own, is a proof
“ with what sincerity of intention I prefer you to
“ all men. You have a brother, in nobility your
“ equal, in age your superior; a man worthy of
“ this fortune, did I not in you find one still more
“ worthy. Such is your age as to be past the gid-
“ diness and impetuosity of youth; such has been
“ your course of life, that nothing in your con-
“ duct thus far is subject to blame. But hitherto
“ you have only had an adverse fortune to contend
“ with. More dangerous and keen are the stimu-
“ lations of prosperity, to try the temper of the
“ soul, and call forth its weaknesses. For the
“ strokes of calamity we struggle under and bear;
“ By a flow of felicity we are utterly subdued and
“ corrupted.

“ You doubtless, will still retain, with your
“ usual firmness, the same honour, faith in friend-
“ ship, candour and freedom of spirit; endow-
“ ments which above all others adorn the mind of
“ man. The false complaisance of others will
“ slacken your fortitude. Flattery will force its
“ way to your heart; deceitful soothings, the most
“ pestilent poison to every honest affection, will
“ inchant you; and to his own sordid gain will
“ every particular be wresting your honour and
“ good inclinations. You and I upon this occasion
“ converse together with hearts perfectly open and
“ sincere: Others will chuse to make their ad-
“ dresses

“ dresses to our fortune rather than to us. Indeed,
“ to deal faithfully with Princes, to reason them
“ into their duty is a mighty task, and with infinite
“ difficulty performed. But easy is the art of
“ cajoling any Prince whatsoever, and in doing it
“ the heart has no share. Could this immense
“ Empire subsist and be swayed without a single
“ Ruler, I should glory in being the first Emperor
“ who resigned the power of the Republic into her
“ own hands. But such, long since, has been the
“ fatal situation of the State, that all the good
“ which my old age enables me to do to the Ro-
“ man people, is to leave them a good successor ;
“ nor can you with all your youth do more for
“ them than afford them in yourself a benevolent
“ Prince. Under Tiberius, and Caligula, and
“ Claudius, we were all of us no more ; the Ro-
“ man world was no more than as the inheritance
“ of one family. That the Empire has in me be-
“ gun to be elective, is a sign of our ancient liberty
“ revived, and some equivalent for it. Now the
“ Julian and Claudian families being extinct, the
“ best men are likely, in this way of adoption, to
“ become the highest. To be sprung from a so-
“ vereign race is the effect of chance, and further
“ than this, requires no deliberation or regard.
“ But in the work of adoption, the judgment is
“ exercised, free from bias and restraint ; and
“ whenever you want to chuse, you are by the ge-
“ neral consent directed to the person worthy to be
“ chosen.

“ Have always before your eyes the example of
“ Nero, who, secure as he was, and swelling with
“ the pride of his race, a long genealogy of the
“ Cæsars his ancestors, was not in reality dethron-
“ ed by Julius Vindex, the Governor of a province
“ unprovided with forces, nor by me assisted by
“ one legion : No, it was his own brutal tyranny,
“ his

“ his own beastly debaucheries, that flung down
“ the tyrant from riding on the necks of mankind.
“ Nor was there till then, any instance of an Em-
“ peror by public sentence condemned and deposed.
“ We who succeed him by a different title, by
“ war, and by public choice, shall thence reap
“ public glory, however the malignity of particu-
“ lars may pursue us. Nor must you be alarmed,
“ if, while the world itself continues in this gene-
“ ral uproar, there are two legions which yet re-
“ main unreclaimed to obedience. It was my own
“ lot to be called to an unsettled estate; and as to
“ my old age, the only objection to my govern-
“ ment, it is no longer one, since, when it is
“ known that I have adopted you, I shall seem
“ young in my successor. The loss of Nero will
“ ever be regretted by all the most profligate and
“ bad. To us it belongs, to you and to me, so to
“ govern, that he may not also be regretted by the
“ good.

“ To say more in this way of instruction, the
“ present conjuncture suffers not; nor is it ne-
“ cessary, since, if I have in you made a worthy
“ choice, I have answered every purpose. One
“ certain rule you have to observe, exceeding
“ wholesome, as well as exceeding short; so to
“ comport yourself towards your subjects, as, were
“ you a subject, you would wish your Prince to
“ comport towards you. By this rule you will
“ best distinguish the boundaries of justice and ini-
“ quity, best comprehend the art of reigning. For
“ you must remember, that it is not with us as
“ with other nations, such as are barbarous and
“ tyrannized, where a particular lordly house is
“ established, and where all besides are slaves with-
“ out reserve. But you are about to govern the
“ Romans; a people of too little virtue to support
“ com-

“ complete liberty, of too much spirit to bear absolute bondage.”

Galba in these and the like reasonings to Piso, used him like one whom he was but yet creating a Prince. The council treated him in a stile of high reverence, as a Prince already created. Of Piso it is said, that neither in the observation of the council, nor afterwards of the Public, where presently all eyes were fixed upon him, did he betray any symptoms of a mind either troubled or exalted. To Galba, now both his Father and Emperor, his discourse was full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himself, full of modesty; no change in his countenance, none in his demeanour; indications that he was more capable of reigning, than desirous to reign. Where to declare the adoption was next debated; whether to the People assembled, or to the Senate, or to the Army. The result was to do it in the Camp; a preference which would highly redound to the glory of the soldiery; since their affections, though when gained by abject court and the force of bribes, they were ill gained, yet were never to be neglected, when by honourable means they could be purchased. The place in the mean time was beset with the multitude, big with expectation, and impatient for the mighty secret. So ungovernable too is the spirit of popular rumour, that such as then strove to stifle and divert it, did thence render it the more vehement and loud.

The tenth of January, a day black with heavy rains, was, moreover, by the frequent roaring of thunder, by incessant lightning, and by the tumult and anger of the elements, rendered unusually terrible; a matter of religious observation in ancient times, and constant ground for dissolving public assemblies. But it deterred not Galba from repairing to the camp. Whether it were that he contemned such things as fortuitous and unmeaning, or per-

perhaps because the decrees of fate, however fore-shewn, are yet inevitable. To a full assembly of the soldiers, with the brevity becoming an Emperor, he declared, that he adopted Piso, after the "precedent of the deified Augustus, and according to the custom of an army, where every man chuses his man." And lest the revolt in Germany might, by hiding or disowning it, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly told them, "That the fourth legion and the eighteenth, by the instigation of some few incendiaries, had departed from their duty; but further than words and discourse had not offended, and would soon return to their allegiance." To this speech he added neither gift nor courtship. By the Tribunes, however, by the Centurions, and by those of the soldiers who stood next him, he was answered in such expressions as carried in them the sound of submission and alacrity. Through all the rest was perceived a sullen sadness and silence; as having thus lost, during war, the donative, which custom and their own insolent claims had made necessary even in time of peace. Certain it is, that with any liberality, however small, from the parsimonious old man, their affections might have been gained. He suffered by his severity overstrained, and by practising, out of season, the rigorous purity of antient times; a task to which we are now no longer equal.

From the camp Galba proceeded to the Senate, where he spoke with the same unassuming brevity, as to the soldiery. The speech made by Piso was civil and gracious, and by the Fathers complaisantly received. Many of them there were who loved him, and made professions altogether sincere. More courtly and loud were they who were averse to him; while the indifferent and the major part, under the officious homage which they openly paid him,

him, were fostering secret and selfish hopes, destitute of any zeal for the Public. Nor did Piso, after this, during the four succeeding days, the short interval between his adoption and his murder, either act or speak in public. Now, as advices from Germany of the revolt there were daily arriving, and daily confirmed, and the City was ever greedy to receive, ever forward to believe any kind of news, especially such as were alarming and sad; it was by the Fathers ordained, that deputies should be dispatched to the German Armies. It was even matter of secret consultation, whether Piso himself should not go; and for his going the plea seemed still stronger. "They in truth should carry with them the authority of the senate; but he in his own person, the Imperial dignity of Cæsar." It seemed, moreover, expedient, that with the rest, Laco, Captain of the Prætorian guards, should be sent; a design which Laco himself defeated. The chusing of the deputies too (for to Galba the Senate had permitted the choice) was accompanied with a scandalous inconstancy; and they were named, and excused, and changed, according to the several machinations of particulars, to procure or to decline that employment; just as each found himself prompted by personal hopes or personal fears.

How to find money was the next concern; and while every expedient was examined, it seemed of all others the most just, to supply the Public at the expence of those, whom the Public had been impoverished to enrich. Above seventeen millions had Nero consumed in profuse pensions and donations. All the partakers in this extravagance were called to account by Galba, who, leaving them a tenth of that wild liberality, ordered that the rest should be restored. But of all that wild liberality they had scarce a tenth left unwasted; having lavished the plunder of the Public, and that of their fellow Citizens,

zens, in the same riot and prodigality, in which, they had confounded their own private fortunes. And to these men, of all others the most rapacious, of all others the most abandoned to profusion and excesses, there remained neither lands nor pecuniary revenues, nor any thing, save the implements and garniture of voluptuousness and debauchery. In this Court of resumption presided thirty Roman Knights; a Court new in its institution, and from the number of officers, from the numerous suits and intrigues, heavy and vexatious. On all hands were beheld open sales, and the common crier; and with public seizures, with public confiscations, the whole city was in anguish and a ferment. Yet infinite matter of joy it proved, to find the vile objects of Nero's extravagance as poor as those whom he had robbed. About the same time were discharged from their command Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso, Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, Emilius Pacensis, Tribune of the City-bands, and Julius Fronto of the Night-watch. This removal, however, proved no remedy against the infidelity of the rest, but an alarm to their fears; since to policy and dread they ascribed it, that particulars only were dismissed, and concluded themselves all equally suspected.

During these transactions, Otho, who in the quiet and establishment of the State saw nothing but despair, and only upon public confusion founded his hopes, was in his civil pursuits excited by many concurring stimulations. He lived in a course of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a sovereign Prince, would have proved burdensome and uneasy; under necessities such as to any private man would have appeared scarce supportable; burning with rage against Galba, with envy towards Piso. A fiction too of fear for his own life, furnished a colour for his inordinate ambition. “ He
“ had

“ had been obnoxious to Nero ; but could not hope
“ to escape a second time by the trust of a province,
“ or another honourable exile. Ever suspected and
“ ever hated by all reigning princes was he, who
“ by the public voice was destined to the Succession.
“ To himself this consideration only had proved a
“ prejudice with Galba, however old he were ; a
“ greater prejudice it would still prove with Piso,
“ a young Prince, in his own nature rough and
“ stern, and, by a long course of exile, rendered
“ perfectly savage. Since therefore Otho might be
“ slain, whether he submitted or resisted, it be-
“ haved him to exert his might, and make a reso-
“ lute effort, while the authority of Galba was
“ daily decaying, that of Piso not yet confirmed.
“ Natural and opportune for enterprises mighty
“ and daring, was the season of revolutions in a
“ State. Nor was there cause or room for linger-
“ ing, at a juncture when resignation and acquies-
“ cence were more threatening and pernicious than
“ boldness and temerity. Death was, by the laws
“ of nature, the equal lot of all men ; and with
“ posterity the death of particulars were only di-
“ versified by glory or oblivion. Now since the in-
“ nocent must die, and the guilty could do no
“ more, it became a brave man to provoke his fall,
“ not to perish without deserving it.”

Otho had a soul not of the same soft temper and effeminacy with his person. Moreover, his favourite Freedmen and Slaves, themselves inured to a licentiousness and riot inconsistent with the œconomy of a private family, were continually displaying to their Lord the allurements of Nero's Court, the delicacies and revelling, the choice of wives, the choice of women, with all the unbridled wantonness and excesses of a Crown ; and, as he was of himself passionate for all such imperial luxury, they represented the same as his own, if he roused himself

himself and made it so ; but reproached him if he acquiesced, for leaving the possession to another. The Astrologers at the same time urged him by their predictions, while they were confidently averring, that the stars presaged approaching revolutions, and a year of signal glory to Otho : A generation of men by Princes never to be trusted, constant deceivers of such as foster new hopes and designs, and a generation which from this our City will ever be excluded by law, and against law ever entertained in it. Many of these Fortune-tellers were by Poppæa employed in her secret intrigues, and some of the detestable instruments which she used for accomplishing her marriage with the Emperor. Of this tribe Ptolemy was one, who had accompanied Otho into Spain, and having foretold him that he should survive Nero, gained credit afterwards from the event. And now, from a public rumour and opinion current amongst all such as weighed and compared the old age of Galba with the vigour and youth of Otho, Ptolemy conjectured himself, and persuaded Otho, that his assumption into the Sovereignty would surely happen. But with Otho these wretched predictions passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the Fates. Such is the visionary genius of human nature, ever most zealous to believe things dark and unsearchable. Neither did Ptolemy confine himself to predictions only ; having first flattered the ambition of Otho, he was now prompting him to the last bloody act of treason. As indeed from the harbouring such aspiring wishes to the forming of such black purposes, the mind is led with wonderful facility.

Yet whether this treason was just then conceived, is altogether uncertain. The affections of the soldiers he had long and assiduously courted, either in view of the Succession, which he hoped, or to pre-
pare

pare them for the conspiracy which he meditated. This court he was upon all occasions paying them, in their progress from place to place, or as they marched in order of battle, or lay in garrison, or were posted upon guard; calling every old soldier familiarly by his name, and in memory of their common service under Nero, styling them Comrades. With others, as he saw them, he would be reviving acquaintance; many, whom he saw not, he would enquire after, and with his money or his interest assist them. Nor in this his commerce with them, failed he frequently to drop several moving complaints, with insinuations concerning Galba, full of darkness and ambiguity, and every other hint and expression proper to infuse discontent and alarms into minds like theirs, ignorant and vulgar. They already resented bitterly, as matters of mighty grief, their laborious marches, scarcity of provisions, and the severity of discipline and warfare in this reign revived; that they, who had only been accustomed to pleasant tours by sea, to visit the delightful bays of Campania, and the fine cities of Achaia, were now obliged to traverse long ranges of countries, and to climb laboriously over the high Alps and Pyrenees, struggling under a load of arms.

To this flame which had already seized the spirits of the soldiers, fresh fuels and firebrands were ministered by Pudens Mevius, an intimate of Tigellinus. This incendiary, having first set himself to cajole and seduce particulars, namely, every one naturally addicted to wavering and giddiness, or pinched with necessity, or abandoned to novel pursuits and the lust of change, had by gradual advances carried this practice so high, that whenever Galba was entertained at the house of Otho, he thence took opportunity to distribute to the Cohort attending upon guard, the sum of more than three crowns a man,
under

under the name of liberality natural at a time of banquetting. This bounty of Otho's, given in truth as a public donative, was further heightened with gifts and recompences conferred more privately upon particulars. Nay, so ardent and bold he was in his measures to corrupt them, that Cocceius Proculus, a lifeguardman, having a contest with a neighbour concerning their boundaries, Otho, at his own expence, purchased the neighbour's whole ground, though the dispute was only about a part, and bestowed it upon Proculus. For, such blind stupidity possessed the captain of the guards, that by him, transactions the most apparent passed equally unobserved as intrigues the most hidden.

Now Otho at this time committed the direction of the treason premeditated to one of his freedmen, Onomastus; who introduced to his Lord two men as proper instruments in it, Barbius Proculus, * a Serjeant of the lifeguard, and Veturius an Adjutant of the same band. Otho, when, by a conversation long and various, he had well tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be fellows crafty and resolute, loaded them with great rewards, as well as with promises mighty and many, and furnished them with money to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they were able. Thus two common soldiers undertook to transfer the Empire of the Romans from one Prince to another, and transferred it effectually. Into the secret of the tragical feat intended they admitted very few. The minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they urged and alarmed by various artifices and insinuations; represented the soldiers of chief note as under present disgrace and distrust, for having been by Nymphidius distinguished with favours. The croud and the rest they inflamed, by

filling them with utter despair of the donative now so often procrastinated. Amongst them too there were some transported with a fondness for the memory of Nero, and a passion for recalling the licentiousness which under him they had enjoyed; and to a man they were struck with dread of a change and reformation to be introduced amongst the soldiery.

This pestilent humour in the Prætorian bands, seized also and infected the spirits of the Legions and Auxiliaries, men already roused and animated ever since it had been divulged, that the Army in Germany had renounced their faith and obedience. And so ripe were the evil disposed and seditious to perpetrate the treason; nay, even amongst those who were free from any participation in it, there prevailed such silence and disguises, that on the fourteenth of January, the conspirators were prepared, as Otho returned home from supping abroad, to have hurried him away, and declared him Emperor; only that they apprehended the uncertain perils of the night, and that, as widely all over the city the quarters of the soldiers were disjointed, amongst men dispersed and intoxicated with liquor, no certain concurrence could be ensured. This was a consideration inspired by no tenderness for the state, which, even, in their sober hours, they had combined to stain with the blood of their Prince, but by caution, lest, during the dark, whoever chanced to be presented to the soldiers of the German or the Pannonian Army, might by them, most of them unacquainted with the person of Otho, be instead of him saluted their Sovereign. The revolt was now beginning to operate, and to manifest itself by manifold indications; but such indications were carefully stifled and covered by the conspirators; nay, such of them as even had reached the ears of Galba, were ridiculed and explained away

away by Laco, Captain of his guards, who was a stranger to the spirit and discontents of the soldiery, a certain enemy to every counsel, however excellent, if he himself gave it not, and headstrong in opposing every man eminent for ability and discernment.

On the fifteenth of January, Galba, then sacrificing at the Temple of Apollo, was by Umbricius the Soothsayer warned of dismal presages from the entrails, of treasonable plots just impending, and a domestic foe; all in the hearing of Otho, who stood next him, and by a different construction understood it all as propitious to himself, and a successful issue foretold of his own machination and views. Nor was it long after this ere Onomastus his Freedman, arrived with notice, that *the Surveyor and Builders waited his coming*. This was the signal before settled amongst them, to intimate that the soldiers were assembling, and the conspiracy ripe for execution. To those who asked Otho the cause of his departure, he feigned for answer, that he was about purchasing certain houses, which being old, and thence suspected to be decayed, it was therefore necessary first to examine them. Then leaning on his Freedman, he proceeded through the house of Tiberius into the place Velabrum, and from thence to the gilded pillar by the Temple of Saturn. There three and twenty lifeguard-men saluted him Emperor; and, as he stood full of affright, that from so few such salutation should come, they placed him in vehement haste upon a chair, and hurried him away with their swords drawn. To these, in their progress to the camp, much the like number of soldiers joined themselves; some as privy to the treason, more as struck with the wonderful event; part of them uttering shouts, and displaying their arms; part remaining in utter

silence, resolved by the issue to form their affections.

In the Camp, Julius Martialis, the Tribune, at that Juncture commanded the main guard. This officer, whether he were really overcome with surprise at the mighty treason, so daring and sudden, or whether he feared the camp to have been more generally infected, and that, if he resisted, he must be doomed to perish; behaved so as to administer ground of suspicion to many, that he himself was engaged in the conspiracy. The other Tribunes too, and the Centurions, preferred an interest present and prevailing, to the defence of a cause honourable indeed, but uncertain and perilous. Such, moreover, was the bias and turn found in the minds of the whole, that an iniquity, of all others the most heinous, was by a handful of men attempted, by many desired, and borne with acquiescence by all.

Galba, the while, utterly unacquainted with all this revolution, and still bent upon the work of sacrifices, was importuning with supplications, the guardian Gods of an Empire, now under the sway of another, when the rumour reached him, that some particular Senator, it was uncertain which, was by a party just then hurried away to the camp, there to be presented to the soldiery; and straight it followed, that Otho was the Senator thus hurried thither. Instantly from every part of the city there crowded people with the same tidings to Galba, each, as soon as he met him, recounting it his own way; some heightened the terrible story beyond measure; others there were who soothed him with relations far short of the facts. For they had not, even at a conjuncture so desperate, unlearned their wonted stile of prostitute flattery. Now after consultation holden, it was resolved, that the temper of the cohort, then upon duty in the palace, should be founded, yet not by the mouth of Galba in person, whose

whose authority was reserved in full vigour, to be applied as the last remedy upon the highest exigency. Piso, therefore, having caused them to be assembled at the foot of the stairs of the palace, accosted them on this wise :

“ This is the sixth day, my fellow soldiers, since
“ I was adopted Cæsar, altogether ignorant of the
“ lot to ensue from it, whether I ought to have coveted or dreaded that name. What fate this
“ adoption is to derive upon my family, and what
“ upon the Commonwealth, lies wholly in your
“ power to determine. Not that in my own person I fear any of the storms of fortune, however boisterous or tragical, as having long tried
“ the weight and strokes of adversity, and now
“ thoroughly learnt, that no less perils attend upon
“ prosperity and exaltation. What I lament is the
“ lot of my imperial Father, with that of the Senate, and that of this our common Empire ; if
“ we are this day reduced to the sad necessity either of perishing ourselves, or, which to worthy
“ minds is the choice equally doleful, of causing
“ others to perish. In the public convulsion lately
“ felt, we had this consolation, that this our City
“ remained free from any stain or guilt of blood ;
“ and that, without popular tumults, the revolution was accomplished. Nay, that even after
“ the demise of Galba, no place or pretence might
“ be left for war, ample provision seemed to have
“ been made by his adopting me.

“ To myself personally I assume no glory, I
“ boast not of my house, however noble, nor of
“ my deportment, however modest. For verily,
“ in a competition for merit with Otho, the display of virtues is entirely superfluous. The vices
“ of Otho, for in vices only he glories, confounded the Empire even at a time when he was a professed friend to the Emperor. Is it by the me-

“ rit of his voluptuous life, by the pomp and dig-
“ nity of his gait, or is it by his gorgeous drefs,
“ altogether foft and effeminate, that he would
“ claim a right to Empire? Blind dupes are they,
“ with whom his profufion and extravagancies pafs
“ under the guife of generofity. The man may
“ know how to wafte and confound; but to ge-
“ nuine liberality he muft be an utter ftranger.
“ At this instant his foul is devising future feats of
“ lufts, rendezvous in gluttony, and wanton re-
“ vellings with bands of prostitute women. Ex-
“ celfes like thefe he efteems to be the wages and
“ prerogatives of princely rule; excelfes, of which
“ the fruition and charms are to redound to him
“ alone, but to all men the infamy and fhame.
“ For never yet was there an instance of a man,
“ who by righteous meafures adminiftered a ftate
“ which by wickednefs and iniquity, he had ac-
“ quired. The voice and confent of human kind
“ raifed Galba to Imperial dignity; into the Im-
“ perial dignity, Galba, with your confent, in-
“ grafted me.

“ If the Commonweal, if the Roman Senate,
“ and the People of Rome, be all no more than
“ empty and imaginary names; yet ftill it is your
“ concern, my fellow foldiers, that by fellows of
“ all others the moft loofe and abandoned, your
“ Emperor be not chofen. That our legions have
“ mutinied againft their Commanders, is what we
“ have heard now and then. But your faith and
“ duty and character have fubfifted unto this day,
“ without blemifh or imputation. Nay, Nero
“ himfelf you forfook not; you were forfaken by
“ Nero. Shall a few common men, in number
“ lefs than thirty, fugitives from their duty, trai-
“ tors to their country, award the Empire as they
“ lift; they from whom no man would bear the
“ choice of one of their own Tribunes or Centu-
“ rions?

“ rions ? Do you approve the wicked precedent ? Do
“ you, by acquiescing, adopt the guilt, and render it
“ common to you all ? To the provinces next this
“ pernicious licence will pass : And upon us indeed,
“ upon Galba and me, will devolve the issue of these
“ desperate treasons, but upon you that of such ruin-
“ ous wars. Neither do greater earnings await such
“ as involve themselves in the guilt of murdering
“ their Prince, than such as preserve themselves
“ guiltless. But from us you shall receive, for your
“ fidelity preserved, a donative as large and sure as
“ from others for parricide committed.”

Those of the life guard-men, who bore the title of *Speculatores*, having dropped away, the rest of the Cohort manifested towards his person and reasoning no sort of distaste, or insolence, such as tumultuous conjunctures usually produce. On the contrary they prepared their ensigns, in conformity rather to discipline, and with minds as yet untainted with treason, than, as afterwards was believed, from counterfeit duty, and the hypocrisy of traitors. Celsus Marius was, moreover, sent to the body of men who had been detached from the Army in Illyrium, and were then lodged in the cloysters of Vipsanius. To Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, Centurions of the first rank, orders were given, to bring away from the court of the Temple of Liberty, the band of German soldiers there. Of the Legion formed from the Marines, great distrust was entertained, as of men full of vengeance for the blood of their brethren, whom Galba, even during his first entry as Emperor into Rome, had doomed to instant massacre. To the camp also of the Prætorian guards there repaired the Tribunes Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, to try whether by reasons and exhortations more wholesome and righteous, the mutiny then but in its infancy, and not

yet arrived at its full inveteracy, might not be quelled, and obedience restored. Two of these Tribunes, SURIUS and CERIUS, the soldiers encountered and terrified by threats. Upon LONGINUS they laid violent hands, and stripped him of his arms, for that he came not as an officer by course of service, but as a confidant of GALBA, one faithful to his Prince, and then obnoxious to these traitors. The Legion of MARINES without hesitating a moment, associated themselves with the PRÆTORIAN bands. The band detached from the Illyrian army drove CELSUS from amongst them with flights of darts. The German troops continued a great while wavering and irresolute; men, who were in their bodies still feeble, but in their minds intirely peaceable and reconciled. For as they, who had been by NERO sent before him to ALEXANDRIA, while he meditated a journey thither, were now returned sickly and fatigued with a course of sailing so long and uneasy, GALBA was bestowing constant and affectionate care to cherish and restore them.

The whole body of the Populace, mixt with a host of bondmen, were now filling the palace; all clamouring with confused din, to have OTHO doomed to instant execution, and the rest of the conspirators to confiscation and exile; just as if they had been craving for some public representation and sports in the Circus or Amphitheatre. Nor in truth, were they actuated by any discernment, by any sincerity or affection: For the same mouths were ready before the close of the day, to have urged the doom of GALBA and his adherents, with equal contention and noise; but they blindly followed a custom transmitted from reign to reign, of soothing any Emperor whomsoever, by applauses usual and extravagant, and by a display of zeal utterly vain and hollow. GALBA, the while, was holden in suspense between two different counsels. It was
pro-

proposed by Vinus, " That the Emperor should
" abide within the palace, arm his slaves in his de-
" fence, fortify the avenues, and by no means issue
" forth amongst men mad with rage. To the mu-
" tinous he must allow time for remorse; to the
" well affected leisure for intercourse and concur-
" rence. Desperate iniquities derive force from
" precipitation and rapidity. Sound counsels are
" ripened and corroborated by slowness and delibe-
" ration. In conclusion, were his going found
" necessary some time hence, it would be still even
" then in his power to go. But if once he ven-
" tured abroad, it would be too late to wish him-
" self at home, since upon the good pleasure of
" others his return must then depend."

All the rest alledged " the necessity of dispatch
" and instant measures before the conspiracy of a
" few, as yet impotent and unsupported, had ga-
" thered strength and numbers. By such conduct
" even Otho would be struck with dread, he who,
" having withdrawn himself by stealth, and been
" introduced amongst men no wise apprised of the
" design, was now by the heaviness of Galba and
" his party, their spiritless procrastinations and con-
" sumption of time, taught to mimic the Sove-
" reign. Far be it from them to linger on, to
" await till he had established in his interest the
" whole Camp, then marched into Rome, seized
" the Forum, and under full view of Galba, ascend-
" ed the Capitol; when at the same time the Empe-
" ror, like a chief of signal prowess, shut himself up
" with his valiant friends in the palace, and there,
" secure as bolted gates and doors can make him,
" prepares forsooth to endure a siege! Mighty and
" notable, truly, was the aid to be expected from
" an array of their slaves, if the union and ala-
" crity of numbers so vast already, attached to his
" cause, were neglected, and the first folly of their

“resentment, a thing of infinite prevalence, were
“left to cool. Whatever is dishonourable, is there-
“fore unsafe: Or, to fall if were inevitable, it
“was just to brave danger by meeting it: An event
“from which more public odium and distaste would
“accrue to Otho, and to themselves certain re-
“nown.” Vinius opposed this advice, and was
therefore by Laco encountered with great vehe-
mence and menaces; all at the instigation of Ice-
lus, who was thus pursuing his personal and inve-
terate spite, to the calamity and overthrow of the
State.

Neither did Galba deliberate longer, but yielded
to those whose counsels were more plausible. Piso
however was sent away before to the camp, as a
young man mighty in name and reputation, dis-
tinguished with recent marks of public favour, and
one possessed too with enmity to Titus Vinius. Whe-
ther he really hated the man, or whether the same
were only wished by such as did: In truth the more
invidious opinion, that of his hate, was the most
readily believed. Scarce had Piso left the palace,
before a story spread, that Otho was slain in the
camp; a story founded first only upon a rumour,
such as flew at random, and could not be traced.
But forthwith, as usual in momentous lies, there
appeared persons who averred that they themselves
had been upon the spot when it was done, and be-
held it done: News swallowed with credulity by
men who rejoiced in it, and troubled not themselves
with inquiries about it. It was by many conjectured,
that by some partizans of Otho, who by this time
had mingled themselves with the rest, the rumour
was first framed, and afterwards heightened; and
that purely to intice Galba from his retirement,
they had forged and published tidings so acceptable.

Now upon this occasion, it was not the people
only, with the thoughtless vulgar, who broke out
into

into shouts and applaudings, and demonstrations of zeal altogether extravagant; but the major part of the Senators and Roman Knights now divested of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reserve, forced the gates of the palace, and rushing in, presented themselves with ostentation before Galba, uttering sore complaints, that the vengeance by them meditating in his behalf, was now snatched out of their hands. Every the most spiritless coward, such who would be sure to face no sort of danger, as the event well proved, was at this juncture profuse of words and boasts, in tongue at least magnanimous and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it. So that Galba, deprived of true information, and overcome with the concurring voices of men misled themselves and misleading him, put on a breast-plate; and, finding himself unable, through age and bodily weakness, to sustain the pressing crowd, was hoisted up in a chair. While he was yet within the palace, Julius Atticus, one of the life-guard approached, and displaying a sword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand Otho had been slain. Nor other answer gave Galba, than, *Brother soldier, whose order hadst thou?* Such was the signal firmness of his spirit in restraining the licentious insolence of the soldiery, a spirit by no menaces to be dismayed, and against the insinuations of flattery firm and uncorrupt.

In the camp the while they had to a man shaken off all doubts and hesitation. Nay such was the ardour they expressed, that to secure Otho with their persons and several bands sufficed them not; they even placed him amidst the ensigns, upon that very Tribunal, where a little before stood the golden Statue of Galba, and there encompassed him round with banners displayed. Room for access to his person the Tribunes and Centurions found none; the common soldiers had even given round a general

ral caution “to beware of all who were in command or authority amongst them.” With fierce shouts, with the wild voice of uproar, and with the cries of exhortation by all given and returned, the whole place resounded: A spirit no wise equalled by that of the people, and the vulgar, when on public occasions they utter, in inconstant starts of acclamations, their lifeless flattery. Here, as fast as they beheld any particular soldier approach, (for in crowds they were all approaching) they seized him by the hand, in all their armour embraced him, placed him fast by their side, led him word by word in the oath of fidelity to Otho; this moment recommended their Emperor to the affections of the soldiers; the next the soldier to the favour of their Emperor. Neither was Otho wanting or slow in his part; his hand was continually presented to the salute; he worshipped the rabble, was profuse of his kisses, and in order to be a Sovereign, descended to all the meanness of a Slave. After the Legion of Marines had unanimously sworn to him, he grew to confide in his strength, and judged that, as he had hitherto only incited them to disaffection man by man, it was now seasonable to inflame them in a body. From the rampart therefore of the camp, he began in this strain:

“Under what denomination I come forth to present myself to you, my fellow soldiers, I can by no means declare. To intitle myself a private person, is what I can no more endure, since by you I have been intitled your Prince; than to call myself Sovereign whilst another bears rule. Nay, by what appellation you yourselves are to be distinguished, must also continue a riddle, as long as it remains a controversy, whether you entertain within your trenches a Roman Emperor, or an Enemy to the people of Rome. Hear you not, that with the same breath and importance

“ tunity is demanded a bloody doom for me, and
“ terrible vengeance upon you? So apparent it is,
“ that your lot and mine is the same, either to be
“ secure together, or together to perish. And so
“ merciful is the spirit of Galba, that ere now
“ perhaps he has granted that cruel demand; he
“ who, without sollicitation from any mortal man,
“ could doom to general massacre so many thou-
“ sand soldiers void of all guilt and offence. Cold
“ horror possesseth my soul, as often as I recal the
“ day of his public entry, a day so mournful and
“ tragical; when I recal the only victory by Galba
“ won, that of his consigning to execution, under
“ the eyes of Rome, every tenth man of those
“ wretches who had already submitted; wretches
“ whom he had received, as supplicants, into his
“ faith and protection.

“ Such were the unhallowed omens attended his
“ entry; and, after it, what instance of glory
“ brought he to adorn his sovereignty, other than
“ the blood of Obultronus Sabinus and of Cor-
“ nelius Marcellus, both slaughtered in Spain, that
“ of Betuus Chilo spilt in Gaul, that of Fonteius
“ Capito in Germany, that of Clodius Macer in
“ Africa, that of Cingonius in his march, of Tur-
“ pilianus in the City, and of Nymphidius in the
“ Camp? Through the whole extent of the Em-
“ pire, what Province is there, what quarter or
“ encampment, which is not contaminated with
“ slaughters, and dyed in blood, or, as he himself
“ boasts, chastened and reformed? For, upon deeds,
“ which, with all but himself, pass for barbarities,
“ he bestows the title of remedies and cures; whilst
“ by confounding the names of things, to cruelty
“ he gives that of severity, to sordid avarice that
“ of parsimony, and, under the term of discipline,
“ comprizes all the insults and vengeance poured
“ upon your heads. It is now five months since

“ the

“ the exit of Nero ; and in that short space, Icelus
“ alone has, by spoil and rapine, amassed more
“ wealth than all that Polycletus, and Vatinius, and
“ Elius, and the like tribe of spoilers, had accumu-
“ lated during all that reign. And surely with less
“ avidity, with less licentiousness had Titus Vinius
“ ravaged, had he himself, and not Galba, reigned.
“ In his present situation he hath at once treated
“ us, as if we were his Subjects, with oppression ;
“ and, as if we were strangers, with scorn. This
“ man’s house alone contains wealth sufficient to
“ furnish the donative, a debt never offered to be
“ paid you, yet a pretence daily to upbraid and re-
“ vile you.

“ Nay, to obviate every hope, which from the
“ successor at least of Galba, we might have con-
“ ceived, he has called one even from exile ; such
“ an one as, in abandoned avarice, and in a spirit
“ gloomy and horrid, he apprehended to bear, be-
“ yond all others, the nearest resemblance of him-
“ self. You, perceived, my fellow soldiers, by the
“ late memorable tempest, how awfully the angry
“ Deities withstood the sad and ill-boding adoption.
“ In the Senate the same angry spirit prevails ; the
“ same in the people of Rome. Upon your bra-
“ very and vigour it is that we next depend ; as it
“ is from you that every worthy design must de-
“ rive its force, and as without you all designs,
“ however excellent, are impotent and abortive.
“ I call you not to the perils of war, nor, in truth,
“ to any peril. On our side already are all the
“ soldiery, I mean all that are armed. The single
“ Cohort, now with Galba, are not covered with
“ armour, but with the long vestment of Citizens ;
“ nor does that single Cohort any longer guard him
“ as their Prince, but only hold him as their pri-
“ soner. As soon as ever they shall have espied
“ you, as soon as ever they shall have received the
“ signal

“ signal from me, the only remaining struggle will
“ be, who shall in this my cause manifest the highest
“ merit. Neither have we the smallest room left
“ for delay in pursuing such a counsel as ours, which
“ can never meet with applause till it has been first
“ accomplished with success.”

He then ordered the common armory to be thrown open. From it instantly were arms snatched at random, without regard had to the custom of war, and the different orders of men, whence the soldiers of the Prætorian Cohorts and those of the Legions should be severally ranged and distinguished by their peculiar badges and habiliments. At present both sorts were with their shields and helmets, scattered and intermixed amongst the auxiliaries. Not a Tribune, nor Centurion directed or incited them. Every man was his own Captain and Prompter; and to all the most mischievous it proved a principal cause of alacrity, to behold the innocent forrowing.

Piso, who was utterly scared from proceeding to the camp, by the growing uproar of the insurrection there, and with the cries of rebellion resounding quite to the City, had already overtaken Galba, who having in the mean time left the palace, was now approaching the Forum; and already Celsus Marius was returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture it was by some proposed to retire back to the palace; by others to proceed and seize the Capitol; by several to take possession of the place of assembling and haranguing the people. Many there were who only thwarted the opinions of the rest; and, according to the fate of all designs where the issue is unhappy, such counsels only were accounted best, as came too late, when the season for executing them was now elapsed. It is said, that Laco was now, but without the privity of Galba, meditating the murder of Titus Vinius; whether
by

by the doom of this man he meant to mollify the angry minds of the soldiery, or suspected him as an accomplice with Otho, or, to guess no more, perhaps to satiate his own private hate. By the circumstances of the time and the place, this his purpose was first retarded: since to a slaughter once begun, difficult it would have been to set any certain bounds. Then, what utterly disconcerted his scheme, was the incessant arrival of news sad and alarming, with the hasty flight of friends and late adherents. For in one and all their affections were growing cold, and all their zeal expiring: Such were the men, who had at first, with eminent alacrity, made boast of their magnanimity and faith inviolable.

For Galba he was tossed hither and thither, according to every different movement and fluctuation of the unsteady multitude, while on every side, the Temples and great Halls were filled with crowds beholding the doleful spectacle. Nor by the people, nor even by the common herd, was one word uttered, or one popular cry. Full of astonishment were their looks, and their ears bent to attention, catching at every sound. There was no tumult, no compofure; but such an awful stillness, as always indicates mighty dread, and mighty fury. To Otho however it was reported, that at Rome the populace were arming. Hence he gave orders, to march with rapidity, and anticipate the terrors which threatened. This sufficed the soldiers; and even the Roman soldiers advanced against Rome, and, having in their way violently scattered and overthrown the populace their fellow Citizens, and trodden under foot the fathers of the Senate, rush furiously into the Forum, their horses foaming, themselves, for hostility and arms, terrible to behold; all with such impetuosity, as if they had been advancing to drive Vologeses or Pacorus from the paternal throne of their ancestors and our enemies,
the

the Arfacides; and not to butcher their own Emperor, unarmed as he was, and an ancient man. Nor did the view of the Capitol before them, nor the awe of the several Temples surrounding them, nor reverence to princes past, nor dread of those to come, deter these men of blood, but perpetrate they would the horrible parricide, though such a parricide, that for it the succeeding Emperor, whoever he happen to be, is always sure to repay due vengeance.

He who was standard-bearer to the Cohort which had remained with Galba, no sooner perceived the body of men from the camp to approach under arms, but he (who according to tradition was Attilius Vergilio) rent from his standard the effigies of Galba, and dashed it against the ground. Upon such a signal the affections of the whole soldiery for Otho became apparent; the people took to immediate flight, and forsook the Forum, and against such particulars as yet lingered and hesitated, the soldiers turned their lances. Near the Lake of Curtius, Galba, by the dread and trembling which possessed those who carried him, was flung from his chair, and tumbled prostrate upon the earth. Of his last words various are the accounts published, just as this man hated him, or that man admired him. By some it is reported, that he asked, in the stile of a suppliant, what evil he had merited, and besought time, only for a few days, to discharge their donative. Many more there are who relate, that, of his own accord, he readily presented his throat to the assassins, bidding them "proceed" and strike resolutely, if the interest of the commonwealth so required." To his murderers it was of no moment or avail, whatever he said. Of the very person who gave him the mortal blow, we have no account sufficiently clear. Some hold it to have been Terentius, a resumed Veteran; others,

others, one Lecanius. The more current tradition is, that Camurius, a common soldier in the fifteenth Legion, smote him with a sword in the neck, and with it cut his throat. The rest horribly hacked and mangled his legs and arms; for his breast was covered with armour. Nay, a spirit so brutal and inhuman transported them, that his body now reduced to a trunk, lifeless and without a head, was yet disfigured by wounds without number. Upon Titus Vinius they next discharged their rage; and concerning him too it remains undecided, whether, through deadly and impending terror, he were not quite bereft of speech; or whether he cried not, with a loud voice, that from Otho they had no orders to slay him. Were what he averred really a fiction inspired by fear; or were it, that he thus avowed his part in the conspiracy; certain it is, that from the baseness of his life and fame, the presumption is more rational, that he himself had embarked in that treason, for which he had administered cause. Before the Temple of the deified Julius he lay, maimed in the joint of the knee; for there he received his first wound, and presently after was, by Julius Carus, a legionary soldier, pierced quite through the body.

A man signal for faith and bravery did our age that day behold in the person of Sempronius Densus, Centurion of the Prætorian Cohort, and by Galba appointed to guard the person of Piso. This Officer, with his poniard drawn, singly encountered so many bloody men all armed, and boldly upbraided them as detestable parricides; insomuch that, partly by his blows, partly by his reproaches, upon his own head he drew the swords of the assassins, and thence to Piso procured, though he too were already wounded, opportunity to retire. Piso escaped to the Temple of Vesta, and was there, by a Bondman of the State, received through compassion,
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and concealed in his chamber. By thus lurking in obscurity it was, and by no protection from the sacredness of the place, or from the reverence due to rites divine, that a while suspended his impending tragedy, when there arrived two men, who, beside their immediate orders from Otho, were of themselves inflamed with avowed thirst after his blood. These were Sulpitius Florus, belonging to the British Bands, a man but just before by Galba presented with the privilege of a Roman Citizen, and Statius Marcus, one of his life-guard. By them Piso was dragged forth and butchered in the portal of the Temple.

Of Otho it is said, that never did he receive the news of any man's blood spilt, with higher marks of delight; that never did he gaze upon any bloody head with eyes so curious and insatiable. Whether his spirit were, upon this occasion, first relieved from all solicitude, and thenceforth presumed upon a season of rejoicing without check or allay; or whether, from recalling to mind the Imperial Majesty vested in the person of Galba, and his own intimacy with Titus Vinius: his soul however filled with vengeance, became struck with horror upon the sad representation of their fate. For the murder of Piso he believed it just and commendable to express his joy, as for that of his enemy and competitor. Upon long poles their bleeding heads were exalted, and thus carried along amidst the banners of the military bands, close by the Eagle of a Legion; while particulars were in boasts displaying their hands all embrued with the blood; namely all they who had committed the murder, all who assisted at it, and all who truly or falsely claimed share in a parricide, which all magnified as a glorious feat worthy of eternal renown. Above an hundred and twenty distinct memorials at this time presented, all claiming rewards for some notable

able exploit by the several claimers performed on that tragical day, fell afterwards into the hands of the Emperor Vitellius, who commanded search to be made for the Authors, and all of them to be put to the sword; from no tenderness or regard for Galba, but out of policy common and traditional amongst princes, as a security against such traitors, during their own reigns, at least a precedent of vengeance by them left to their successors.

You would have now thought that you had seen in Rome another Senate, and another People. To a man they earnestly crowded to the Camp, each striving to outrun his fellows, each to overtake and pass by such as were before him: They condemned the conduct of Galba, magnified the judgment of the soldiers, kissed the hands of Otho; and the more hollow and counterfeit all their indications of zeal were, the more loud and numerous were the indications which they strove to shew. Neither did Otho neglect the persons of individuals, while, by persuasions and the motions of his countenance, he at the same time endeavoured to pacify the spirit of the soldiers breathing menaces and ravage. Already they were urging for a bloody doom to be instantly inflicted upon Marius Celsus, Consul elect, and to Galba a faithful and constant friend, even in his last distress, and to the sad close of his life: They were in truth enraged at the man for his integrity and vigour of spirit, virtues which with them passed for dangerous crimes. What they aimed at was apparent, to have their hands let loose to general pillage and massacre, and to bring to destruction every worthy and every able man in the Roman State. But in Otho authority sufficient was not found to prohibit acts of violence; it was hitherto only in his power to ordain them to be done. So that personating great wrath towards Celsus, he ordered him to be put under bonds and durance, with
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strong protestations, that for other and higher punishment he reserved him; and in this manner redeemed him from a violent death just impending.

From this moment all things were transacted by the mere will and option of the soldiers. By them were chosen the Captains of the Prætorian guards; namely Plotius Firmus, once a common soldier, then preferred to command the watch, and, even during the life and reign of Galba, embarked in the faction of Otho; with Plotius they joined Licinius Proculus, one in high confidence with Otho, and thought to have promoted his interest and intrigues. To the Government of Rome they advanced Flavius Sabinus in deference to the judgment of Nero, in whose reign he had administered the same office; the major part being influenced in this choice by their regard to his brother Vespasian. They then insisted importunately, that the fees wont to be by them paid to their Centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, should be utterly abolished; for, under his name, every poor soldier paid as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a company at once used to be absent and dispersed, either in progresses upon licence, or roaming like vagrants through the Camp itself; and provided they could but discharge their bribe to the Centurion, none of them were solicitous about the measure of that heavy imposition, or about the nature of the earnings which enabled them to bear it. So that by betaking themselves to robbing and plundering, or by submitting to vile offices, such as were peculiar to slaves, they purchased a dispensation from the toils of soldiers. It was moreover a practice to persecute every soldier noted for wealth, by subjecting him continually to hard labour and merciless stripes, till he were forced to buy a dispensation at a price: Then, when by these exactions he was quite exhausted and impoverished;

verished; nay, when by long exemption from duty, he was also become enslaved to laziness and sloth, he returned home to his company a different man, reduced from plenty to miserable indigence, and now as listless and inactive, as before he was vigorous and hardy. And as there were many who had successively undergone the like change, been debauched by such wild immunity, and excited by such pinching necessity; they were always ready to run headlong into sedition, dissention, and at last into civil wars. But Otho, that he might not estrange from him the affections of the Centurions, by such remission and bounty conferred upon the common soldiers, undertook, out of his own revenue, yearly to pay the fees of such exemptions; a regulation doubtless of notable benefit, and by such good princes as came after, perpetuated as part of the military establishment. Laco, Captain of the guards to Galba, as if no more than his banishment was intended, was condemned to an island; but murdered by a resumed veteran, who Otho had sent before him, with orders for his assassination. Upon Icelus, as he was only a slave manumised, public execution was formally done.

When in a series of iniquities so tragical the whole day was spent, the concluding evil was that of public rejoicing. The City Prætor assembles the Senate. The other Magistrates contend to surpass each other in flights of flattery. The Fathers run with rapidity to assemble. To Otho is decreed the authority Tribunitia, the name of Augustus, and every other honour enjoyed by preceding Emperors. For they now jointly laboured to obliterate the many invectives and contumelies which they had in common poured forth against him; indignities which no man could perceive to have made any angry impressions upon his spirit. Whether he had quite dropt all resentment, or only postponed his
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vengeance such was the shortness of his reign, that no certain judgment could be formed. When over the Forum, still flowing with blood, and through heaps of the slain, Otho had been carried to the Capitol, and thence to the palace, he granted leave to burn, and bury the corpes. The remains of Piso were, by his wife Verania, and his brother Scribonianus, committed to the quiet of the grave; as were those of Titus Vinus, by his daughter Crispina; after they had found out and redeemed their heads, which their murderers had retained for sale.

Piso had entered into the thirty-first year of his age, much happier in his fame than in his fortune. His brother Magnus had fallen by the cruelty of Claudius, his brother Craffius by that of Nero. He himself had lived a long time in the state of exile, but four days in that of a Prince; and, by the late adoption, so suddenly made, gained no other advantage over his elder brother than that of being first slain. Titus Vinus had passed fifty-seven years in a course of manners unequal and diversified. His father was of a Prætorian family; his mother's father was of those proscribed by the Triumvirate. In his very first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus he was branded with infamy. For the wife of that General, moved with a preposterous fondness to view the situation of the camp, entered the same in the night under the habit of a soldier; and having there, with the like wanton curiosity, adventured to pry into the manner of the guard, and of the other functions military, at last confidently perpetrated the act of adultery in the very quarter sacred to the Roman Eagles and Banners; and Titus Vinus was arraigned as her partner in this crime. By order therefore of the Emperor Caligula, he was put in irons and confinement, but by the change of times soon enlarged, and thenceforth passed through

through a succession of public employments, with a character free from reproach. At the close of his Prætorship, he was preferred to the command of a Legion, and in it acquitted himself with applause. He was afterwards stained with an imputation altogether infamous, and worthy only of a slave, to have purloined a goblet of gold, while he was entertained, with other company, at the table of Claudius; infomuch, that on the day following, Claudius distinguished him from all the rest of his guests, by ordering that Vinus only should be served in an earthen cup. Yet the same Vinus ruled the province of Narbon Gaul, in quality of Proconsul, with justice unbiaſſed and eminent integrity. Soon after, his intimacy with Galba having led him to a precipice where his fall overtook him, he proved daring, subtle, prompt, and, according as he chose to apply his spirit, was with equal ardour vicious and depraved, or vigilant and active. The Testament made by Vinus was, through the mightiness of his wealth, of none effect. The last Will of Piso his poverty rendered valid.

The corpse of Galba, after it had lain long neglected in the streets, and, during the licentiousness of the night, suffered insults and indecencies without number or measure, was by Argius, one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of Steward, reposed in a mean grave, within his own gardens. His head, miserably mangled and stuck upon a pole by a rabble of the vile scullions and attendants of the camp, was by them erected before the tomb of Patrobius, a manumised slave of Nero's, and by the authority of Galba executed. Here it was at length found on the day following, and laid with the remains of his body which had been already burnt. Such was the end of Galba, in the seventy-third year of his life; after having passed through the reigns of five princes, in a course of fortune
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abundantly prosperous, and under the Sovereignty of others happier than in his own. Signally ancient was the nobility of his house, mighty the wealth. In himself were found talents no other than moderate, and he was rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. Fame was what he no wife despised, yet never studied to blazon his own. No man's money did he covet, was sparing of his own; of the public money greedy and tenacious. Towards his Friends and Freedmen, when chance directed him to such as were good, he was ever passive and resigned, without all check and contradiction; and to all their iniquities, where they proved to be bad, blind even to his own scandal and disgrace. But such was the splendor of his race, and such the terrible spirit of those times, that, by his escaping them, a colour was ministered for bestowing the name of real wisdom upon that which in him was real heaviness. During the vigour of his years he commanded with signal renown in the German years. He afterwards governed Africa, as Proconsul, with moderation and gentleness; as now, in the latter part of his life, he had ruled the northernmost Spain, with the like measure of justice. For greater than a subject he seemed, while he was yet no more than a subject; and, in the opinion of all men, had passed as capable of Empire, had he never been Emperor.

To the City already full of consternation, at once struck with the horror of the recent parricide, and dreading the spirit and known vices of Otho, there accrued fresh cause of affright from the tidings concerning Vitellius; tidings which, before the murder of Galba, were suppressed, with design to have it believed, that only the army in Higher Germany had revolted. Upon this occasion it became matter of open lamentation, not to the Senate alone and Equestrian Order, men who had some share in

the administration, and some concern for the public weal, but even to the mean people; that two men, of all others the most infamous for pollution, effeminacy and profusion, were thus fatally chosen, as it were on purpose, to rend and destroy the Empire. Nor did they now any longer recount the instances of cruelty, still recent, perpetrated during the late times of peace and tyranny: But reviving the memory and terrors of the civil wars, they represented "Rome so often taken by her own hostile armies, the desolation of Italy, the Provinces ravaged, the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, with the sieges of Perusia and Modena;" Names signal for public calamities and slaughter. "In a struggle for the Sovereignty, even among men of renown, it was urged that the whole earth was well nigh turned upside down. Yet, under the prevailing fortune of Julius Cæsar the Empire subsisted; it subsisted under that of Augustus: Under Pompey too and Brutus the Republic would have subsisted. Would they, at this time, repair to the Temples for Otho, or for Vitellius? Alike impious would be the supplications for either, alike detestable the vows; since such men they both were, that by the issue of the war between them, nothing else was to be learnt, than that whichsoever of the two proved the Conqueror, would thence prove the worst." There were those who formed prognostications concerning Vespasian, and the forces in the East; and, as Vespasian excelled them both, another war was dreaded, and additional calamities. Moreover with the Public, Vespasian stood but in dubious estimation, and, of all those who had been Emperors, was in truth the only one by power changed for the better.

I now

I now proceed to a display of the rise and causes of the commotion and revolt begun by Vitellius. When Julius Vindex was, with all his forces, slain, the conquering army, grown unruly and imperious upon such an acquisition of glory and spoil; as to their share the victory had fallen, without pains or peril, in a war extremely lucrative; became eager for action, and feats of war, and fonder of rapine than of their usual stipend. They had besides long endured a service void of gain, and full of rigour, as well from the bleakness of the country, and keenness of the air, as from the severe exercise of discipline; which, though it be preserved during peace with a strictness ever so unrelenting, never fails to be dissolved by intestine wars; since on both sides are always found busy instruments of corruption, and the violation of faith and duty escapes all correction. Of men, and arms, and horses they had abundant store, both for service and for shew. But before the beginning of the war, they knew only their own particular companies, and their own troops of horse; for the armies were separated from each other by the boundaries of the several Provinces. It was to make head against Vindex that the Legions were drawn together; and having then tried their own strength, and that of the Gauls, they fought earnestly to revive once more the tumult of war, and to create fresh quarrels. Nor did they treat them as formerly with the title of Allies, but with that of Enemies, and of a people subdued by the sword. Nay, they were abetted by those of the Gauls who dwell along the Banks of the Rhine, and having adhered to the fortune and party of the Army, were now vehemently inciting them against the *Galbians*; for upon their countrymen they had bestowed this name, disdain-
ing to mention that of Vindex. Filled therefore with rage towards the Sequanians, and the Eduans,

and towards other Cities, according to the measure of their wealth, they grasped in imagination future booty, from towns sacked, from the devastation of countries, and the plunder of private dwellings. Besides their being prompted by notable rapaciousness and arrogance, the two leading vices of such as are strongest, they were provoked by the pride and defiance found in the behaviour of the Gauls, who boasted, that, in contempt of the army, they were by Galba released from a fourth of their Tribute, and distinguished with the rights and privileges of Roman Citizens. To all this there accrued a current report, maliciously raised, and rashly believed, that the Legions were doomed to decimation, and every Centurion noted for being brave and daring, to be cashiered. From every quartar were arriving news tragical and alarming. Sad and discouraging were the tidings from Rome. The Colony too of Lyons, who were sorely disaffected to Galba, and immoveable in their adherence to Nero, proved a continual source of wild and flying rumours. But within the camp itself was found most ample matter for fiction and credulity, from the bitterness and hate of the soldiery, from their consciousness and dread, and even from the security which, upon a review of their own forces, they conceived.

About the very first of December in the preceding year, Aulus Vitellius had entered the Lower Germany, and with great accuracy visited the winter quarters of the Legions there. To their ranks he restored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious punishments, and cancelled the marks of infamy inflicted upon others. Some regulations he made through judgment; but most with a corrupt view to popularity. Among the former must be reckoned his abolishing, with so much integrity, what Fonteius Capito had done,
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in preferring and degrading particulars from the motives of avarice and sordid gain. Neither were these his proceedings estimated barely according to the measures of his office, that of a General of Consular quality; but whatever he did, passed under a higher consideration. And for Vitellius himself, as by such who judged severely, he was accounted but a mean person; his friends and adherents, on the contrary, while he was giving away his own fortune, and lavishing in bounties that of others, without measure, without discernment, bestowed upon this extravagance and spoil the title of complaisance and good nature. Add that, from a violent thirst of bearing rule, into virtues they construed the most manifest vices. In both armies, as there were many peaceable and modest, so were there many wicked and resolute. But abandoned to licentious pursuits, and signal in precipitancy, were two Commanders of Legions, Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens. The latter particularly was highly disgusted with Galba, alledging, that his services in detecting the reserves and hesitation of Verginius, and in stifling the machinations of Capito, had been by Galba passed over with ingratitude. Hence he instigated Vitellius, and magnified to him “ the ar-
“ dour and ready zeal of the soldiery; that his
“ own name was every where mentioned with re-
“ nown. From Hordeonius Flaccus no obstruction
“ would be found. Britain would accede to his
“ party, The auxiliary forces of the Germans
“ would join. Ill assured was the faith of the Pro-
“ vinces. Tottering and precarious was the So-
“ vereignty of the Old-man, and would quickly
“ pass from him. Let Vitellius only open his arms
“ and advance to receive his approaching fortune.
“ With reason had Verginius hesitated to accept
“ the Empire, a man descended only from an eque-
“ trian family, from a father never known by any

“ office. Had he accepted it, he would have proved
“ unequal to it; and might live in safety after he
“ had refused it. Vitellius sprung from a father
“ who had sustained three Consulships, with the
“ awful office of Censor, and had been Collegue in
“ the Consulship with Claudius. Such paternal dignities had long since raised him to the elevation of
“ an Emperor, and deprived him of all security in
“ the station of a subject.”

His spirit, naturally heavy and slow, was so far agitated by such representations, as to covet the Diadem rather than to hope for it. In the Higher Germany, Cæcina had intirely captivated the affections of the soldiers, as he was graceful and young, large in his person, of a soul which fostered designs without bounds, his gait noble and stately, and himself a prompt and lively speaker. This young man, exercising the office of Quæstor in that province of Spain called *Batica*, had revolted immediately to Galba, who thence preferred him to the command of a Legion; but soon after having discovered that he had embezzled the common treasure, ordered him to be prosecuted as one guilty of robbing the Public. Cæcina, resenting this heinously, determined to excite a spirit of universal confusion and revolt, and with the miseries of the state to cover his own private wounds. Neither in the army itself were there wanting seeds of tumult and discord. For in the war against Vindex they had been all to a man engaged; nor, till after Nero was slain, could they be induced to transfer their allegiance to Galba. The troops too of Lower Germany had the merit of having taken the oath of fidelity before them. Moreover, contiguous and intermixed with the winter quarters of the Legions lay the territories of the Treverians and the Lingones, and such other communities as had been by Galba aggrieved with severe edicts, or deprived of
their

their wonted bounds. Hence arose seditious communications between them; as also the corruption of the soldiery, increased by their intercourse with these townsmen and peasants; and hence too that devotion of theirs to Verginius was now at the service of any other candidate.

The community of the Lingones had, in observance of ancient custom, sent gifts to the Legions, and the compliment of their right hands presented, in token of affection and hospitality. Now their Deputies, who in their persons and countenances bore the studied marks of miserable distress and anguish, took all occasions, both in the tents of the soldiers, and in the quarters assigned for the Eagles and arms of every particular Legion, to bewail by turns their own hardships and oppressions, and the favour and advantage conferred upon the other neighbouring Communities. And as soon as they found that these their infusions were swallowed with attention and eagerness, they proceeded to bemoan the lot of the army itself, the perils which surrounded them, with their opprobrious usage; and thus inflamed the minds of the men. They were in truth just ripe for a present insurrection, when Hordeonius Flaccus ordered the Deputies to depart, and that their departure might be the more secret to leave the camp by night. Hence a furious rumour ensued, that they were murdered. This was what the most part affirmed, and added, that unless they took sure measures for their own defence and preservation, the certain consequence would be, that all the bravest and most vigilant soldiers, and such as had dared to complain of the present evils, would be massacred in the dark, apart from the sight and observation of their brethren. Presently the Legions bind themselves in a mutual and secret confederacy, and in it the auxiliary soldiers are comprized; men whom at first they suspected of preparing to

fall upon the Legions themselves thus revolting, after having furrounded them with the body of their cohorts, and their wings of horse. But anon these auxiliaries appeared more clamorous and vehement than the rest. So much more easily procured, amongst men of evil minds, is a concurrence in rage and war, than in quietness and unanimity during peace.

In Lower Germany, the Legions on the first of January performed the solemnity of swearing allegiance to Galba, drawn to it indeed by compulsion; and with infinite backwardness and hesitation they did it. Faint and few were the cries of loyalty and applause, and these only uttered by some in the foremost ranks. The rest continued mute, every particular expecting with impatience from him who stood nearest, some daring effort of disaffection and treason; agreeably to the natural bent of men, to follow greedily in such pursuits as they are greatly averse to begin. The Legions too were animated by different humours. The first and the fifth were so turbulent and outrageous, that among them some were found who assailed the images of Galba with stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth had not yet ventured beyond menaces and the uproar of words, but were watching with special attention for a beginning and precedent of mutiny and violence. But, in the higher army the fourth Legion, and the eighteenth, both abiding in the same winter quarters, did, even on the first of January, break in pieces the images of Galba: An outrage in which the fourth manifested the greater fury. The eighteenth shewed some hesitation, but presently joined with the former. And lest, by this act they might seem to have renounced all reverence for the Emperor, they recalled and took the oath of fidelity to the antiquated names of the Senate and people of Rome. Nor was there one Tribune

or one Commander of the Legions found to exert himself in behalf of Galba. Nay, some of these officers practised what is usual during such madness and confusion, and added notably to the uproar. No man however appeared to harangue the multitude, or took upon him the authority of applying to them from a Tribunal. For as yet no particular person could be singled out to bear the name and weight of the commotion.

It is true Hordeonius Flaccus was upon the spot; a General of Consular authority was a beholder of this detestable treason and revolt, yet durst neither restrain such as were already rushing into rebellion, nor recover such as were only wavering, nor rouse and animate those who still persevered in their integrity; but remained spiritless, terrified, and only through stupidity innocent. There were four Centurions who would have protected the images of Galba, but were by the furious soldiers seized and confined in chains. These were Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus; all belonging to the eighteenth Legion. Further than this in none of them was found or faith, or duty, or the memory of their former oaths. But it happened in this as in other insurrections; whither the many led, all the rest blindly followed. On the night which followed the same day, the Eagle-bearer of the fourth Legion, arriving at Cologn, acquainted Vitellius, while he was banquetting, that the fourth Legion and the eighteenth had thrown down the images of Galba, and plighted their fidelity to the Senate and People of Rome: An oath which to him and his friends appeared void and invalid. It was therefore determined to fix and ascertain fortune while she was thus shifting, and to make these Legions the Tender of an Emperor. Forthwith messengers were dispatched from Vitellius, to acquaint the Legions

of the lower Province, and their Commanders,
“ That the higher Army had revolted from Galba ;
“ infomuch that they must either make war upon
“ the revolters ; or if they rather preferred peace
“ and coalition, must create an Emperor. Indeed
“ with much less peril they might presently elect a
“ Prince, than continue in search of one.”

The winter quarters of the first Legion lay nearest, and with it Fabius Valens the Commander, more keen and zealous than all the rest. This officer entered into Cologne the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his Legion, and those of the auxiliaries, openly saluted Vitellius *Emperor*. His example was followed by the Legions of the same province with mighty haste and competition ; and the upper Army, having already relinquished the plausible names of the Senate and People of Rome, acceded so early as the third of January to the party of Vitellius : It was now apparent, that to the free Roman State they were no wise devoted during the two preceding days. Equal to the ardour and zeal of the armies was that of the Treverians, of the Lingones, and of the inhabitants of Cologne ; all making offer of supplies of men, of horses, of treasure, each according to the measure of his power and sufficiency, either in person, or wealth, or of capacity and address. Neither was such liberality confined to the leading men of these Colonies, or to those of the Camp, men who enjoyed present abundance, and who from victory once gained conceived hopes of ample earnings : The common men too, the poor soldiers, they who were destitute of money, instead of it surrendered their travelling subsistence, their girdles, the trappings of their horses, and the silver ornaments upon their armour ; all led by impulse, by headlong passion, and even by avarice.

Vitellius therefore, after he had extolled the zeal and alacrity of the soldiers, disposed of the several charges depending on the Sovereignty; charges which were wont to be administered by the Imperial Freedmen, but now by him conferred upon Roman Knights. The fees exacted from the soldiers by the Centurions for exemption from duty, he ordered to be paid out of his own Treasure as Emperor. The cruel vengeance of the soldiers, in craving the doom and execution of particulars, he in many instances humoured; and in some instances defeated, under colour of committing the obnoxious persons to prison. Pompeius Propinquus, Governor of the Province of Belgica, was put to present death. By an artifice he redeemed from their rage the person of Julius Burdo, Commander of the naval Forces in Germany. Against him the fury of the army raged, as they believed that through his mischievous devices Fonteius Capito had been brought first to rebel, and then to perish. Dear to them was the memory of Capito; and such besides was their thirst of vengeance and blood, that to slay and execute in the face of the day, was with them matter of licence; but to protect and shew mercy there was no way other than that of deceiving them. Thus was Burdo secured in prison, and afterwards, upon the victory obtained by Vitellius, discharged, when the malice of the soldiers was dissipated. In the mean while, Crispinus the Centurion was presented to their fury, as a proper victim for expiation; he who had stained himself with the blood of Capito. For this cause, as he was, to the soldiers who required his execution, a criminal the more signally notorious; so he was to Vitellius, who awarded it, an object the more vile and despicable. The next threatened was Julius Civilis, but delivered from all peril, as amongst his countrymen the Batavians, he was a man of prevailing credit

credit and popularity; and left by his doom that nation so wild and fierce might have been provoked to enmity. In truth, there then lay in the country of the Lingones eight Cohorts of Batavians, appertaining, as auxiliaries, to the fourteenth Legion; but through the commotion and distraction of the times, retired from it; a body of men of infinite weight or availment, either as enemies or confederates. To execution Vitellius doomed Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four Centurions lately mentioned, all condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought most heinous by such as have renounced both. To this party there joined themselves Valerius Asiaticus, the Emperor's Lieutenant in the province of Belgica, he upon whom Vitellius afterwards bestowed his daughter; and Junius Blæsus, Governor of that part of Gaul which derives its name from the City of Lyons; together with the Italic Legion, and the band of horse intitled *Taurina*, both encamped at Lyons. Neither did the forces in Rhætia procrastinate, but forthwith went over to his side; nor even from those in Britain was there any hesitation found.

Over Britain Trebellius Maximus then bore rule, a man, for his avarice and infamous corruptions, despised and detested by the army. This hate of theirs was daily heightened and inflamed by Roscius Cælius, Commander of the twentieth Legion; one who towards him had long lived in a state of strife and opposition. But now, by the eruption of the civil war, their mutual enmity broke forth more implacably. Upon Cælius, the General charged the raising of sedition, and that he had utterly broken all discipline in the army. Against the General, Cælius urged, that he had plundered and impoverished the Legions. And, in the meanwhile, through the scandalous disputes and competition

tition between the Chiefs; the behaviour of the army, otherwise modest, became quite depraved; and to such a tumult the contest arose, that Trebellius, finding himself assaulted by many reproaches from the auxiliary soldiers also, and perceiving all the Cohorts and bands of horse to associate themselves with Cælius, fled in this forlorn state, to Vitellius. Yet the tranquillity of the Provinces subsisted, though the Governor vested with Consular dignity was gone. The administration was performed by the Commanders of the Legions, by their office all equal in authority; but Cælius by superior boldness gained superior sway.

Vitellius, upon the accession of the army in Britain to his party, became mighty in forces and treasure, appointed two Generals to conduct the war, and to each General assigned a different route. To Fabius Valens he gave orders to sooth and draw over the Gauls, or, if he could not persuade them, then to over-run them by spoil and devastation, and by that part of the Alps which bears the name of *Cottian*, make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina was ordered to advance thither by a nearer way, and to pass over the mountains called *Penini*. To Valens was committed the flower of the lower Army, with the Eagle of the fifth Legion, and the Cohorts and Bands of horse, to the number of forty thousand fighting men. From the higher Germany Cæcina led thirty thousand, of which the principal strength consisted in one Legion, namely the twenty-first. Upon both Generals were bestowed bodies of auxiliary Germans. From these two it was that Vitellius drew reinforcements for his own troops, with whom he was to follow and support the whole weight of the war.

Wonderful was found the difference between the spirit of the army, and that of the Emperor. The soldiers were urgent for action, and required to be
put

put under arms, " whilst dread still possessed the
" Gauls whilst Spain remained in hesitation and
" suspense. The winter season was no obstruction;
" nor was there any to be admitted from the stu-
" pid deliberations about peace. They must in-
" vade Italy; they must seize Rome. In civil
" commotions nothing was so secure as dispatch,
" since then less necessary was counsel than exe-
" cution." Vitellius continued lifeless and stupi-
fied, only in voluptuous sloth, and consuming ban-
quets, personating a prince; as if in luxury and
profusion the measure and functions of Sovereignty
had laid. By the middle of the day he was always
intoxicated with wine, gorged with feasting, un-
wieldy and unmoveable. But such was the zeal
and vigour of the soldiers, that of themselves they
supplied all the duties of the Leader, as effectually as
if he had attended himself, and in person animated
the brave by hopes, the dastardly by fear. As soon
as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded
with earnestness, that the signal might be given
for marching; styling him by the name of Ger-
manicus, to which they subjoined his own of Vi-
tellius. For even after he was victorious, he for-
bad giving him the appellation of *Cæsar*. To Fa-
bius Valens, and the army which he was thus lead-
ing forth to the war, on the very day they com-
menced their march, there appeared a joyful presage,
that of an eagle, which measuring his motion by
that of the Host, glided gently along, and flew
just before, as if he purposely guided the way.
Such too, for a large space of time, were the joy-
ful shouts uttered by the soldiers, such the steady
motion of the undismayed bird, that thence was in-
ferred a manifest omen of an issue grand and suc-
cessful.

And in truth they advanced with assurance to the
territories of Treves, as to those of a friendly State.

But

But at Divodurum, a city of the Mediomatricians, though they were yet received with every degree of frankness and complaisance, a sudden panic seized them, and in an instant they grasped their arms with design to massacre the unoffending city; not for the sake of pillage, or from the lust of spoil, but from fury and madness, and causes unknown, and thence the more difficult to be remedied and removed; till assuaged at last by the intreaties of their General, they forbore pursuing the utter destruction of the city. There were slaughtered however, to the number of four thousand men: An example of terror, which alarmed all the rest of Gaul; insomuch that thenceforward intire cities, when the army approached them, went forth to meet it, accompanied with their magistrates, and tendering the petitions of supplicants. Along the ways, in humble postures, were strewed their children and wives: and every other art, every persuasive proper to soften the rage of a foe, was offered; not that they were really engaged in a war, but purely to be allowed the privilege of peace.

In the capital of the Leucians Fabius Valens received tidings of the murder of Galba, and that the Sovereignty was devolved upon Otho. Nor did the news move the spirit of the soldiers either to grief or joy, as they were only intent upon war. From the Gauls all cause of hesitation in favour of Galba, was now taken away. Towards Otho and Vitellius they bore equal hate; and were moreover possessed with dread of Vitellius. The next State was that of the Lingones, a people attached to the party of Vitellius. There the army was kindly received, and strove to return the civility by equal complaisance. But this chearful harmony proved short, through the turbulent behaviour of those Cohorts which, having withdrawn themselves from the fourteenth Legion, as above I have remembered, had

had been by Fabius Valens incorporated, with his own forces. Between these Cohorts, who were Batavians, and the Legionary soldiers, at first reproachful words arose: words were presently followed by a tumult. And while the other soldiers, according to their different partialities, espoused opposite sides, the contention waxed so hot, that a battle must have immediately ensued, had not Valens, by punishing a few particulars, recalled the Batavians, who had forgot all authority, to a sense of their duty. In vain was cause of war sought against the *Æduans*: for being commanded to furnish a supply of money and arms, they, of their own accord, added one of provisions without price. What the *Æduans* had done without fear, the inhabitants of Lyons did through joy. From whence however was withdrawn the Italic Legion, and the Squadron of horse entitled *Taurina*. But at Lyons it was judged proper to leave the eighteenth Cohort; as in quarters where they had been used to winter. Manlius Valens, commander of the Italic Legion, though he had truly served the cause, yet remained without favour or distinction from Vitellius. Fabius had blasted him with secret defamations, ignorant as he was of such devices; and to render Manlius the more secure and unregarded, whilst he thus circumvented him, always applauded him openly.

The animosities so long subsisting between the people of Lyons and those of Vienne, had been by the late war inflamed. Hence many bloody routs and calamities on both sides, more frequent and furious than if they had fought only for the interests of Nero and Galba. In truth, Galba, moved by his displeasure, had converted to his own Exchequer the revenues of the Lyonesse; and, on the contrary, had treated those of Vienne with signal marks of favour. This became the root of emulation and envy between the two people linked together in mutual

tual hatred, and only separated by a river. They of Lyons therefore set themselves to animate the soldiers man by man, and to incite them to exterminate those of Vienne. They urged, that this their Colony had been by them besieged; that they had aided the conspiracy and attempts of Vindex, and lately levied Legions for the support of Galba. And when they had displayed these plausible motives for hate and hostility, they shewed and extolled to the soldiers the mighty and extensive spoil which awaited them. Nor did they any longer confine themselves to secret exhortations to particular soldiers, but publicly besought them in a body, “ That they would
“ march in pursuit of just vengeance, that they
“ would raze and extinguish the seat and nursery of
“ the war in Gaul; a nursery which contained none
“ but foreigners and foes. For themselves, they
“ were a Roman Colony, and part of the army,
“ and their inseparable confederates in all events
“ prosperous or disastrous. Now if fortune should
“ chance to prove froward, they begged that they
“ might not be exposed to the rage of their implacable enemies.”

By these instigations, and many more in the same strain, they incensed the men so effectually, that even the Commanders of the Legions, and their other Leaders, judged it impossible to quell the wrath of the army; when the inhabitants of Vienne, well apprized of their impending peril, covered their heads with doleful and religious veils, and accosting the army as they marched, in the mournful guise of supplicants, embraced their armour, their knees, their feet, and thus mollified the animosity of the soldiers. Besides the force of these supplications, Valens added a donative or three hundred sesterces (a) a man. Then it was that reverence for the

(a) *Betwixt 9 and 10 Crowns.*

dignity of the colony, and its ancient establishment, prevailed; and then was the discourse of Fabius, who to the army recommended the security and preservation of the Vienneſe, received with favour and attention. They were ſentenced, however, to ſurrender the arms belonging to their State; and to aſſiſt the ſoldiers with proviſions, every man contributed his ſhare, according to what he had. But the prevailing rumour was, “ That the people “ of Vienne had bought over Valens with an im-
“ menſe ſum of money.” This man, one long ſordidly poor, then on a ſudden become rich, did but ill diſguiſe the haſty change of his fortune. As his appetites had been whetted and inflamed by a long courſe of penury, his riot and exceſſes were boundleſs; and having ſpent his younger years in eminent indigence, he abandoned himſelf to notorious prodigality in his old age. From thence in a ſlow progreſs, the army was led through the territories of the Allobrogians and Vocontians; while upon every march which he made, upon every ſhifting of his camp, the General conſtantly ſet a price; and with the proprietors of the ſeveral lands, with the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities, ſtruck infamous bargains for favour and exemption. This he did with ſuch open confidence and menaces, that he ordered Lucus, a municipal town of the Vocontians, to be ſet on fire, till by money he was appeaſed. As often as money failed, he was ſoftened by a preſent of women, and by ſacrifices to his luſt. Marching in this manner he arrived at the Alps.

Cæcina rioted in greater ſpoil, and in more blood, His ſpirit naturally tempeſtuous and fierce, was exaſperated by the Helvetians, a nation of the Gauls; one renowned of old for men and arms, and afterwards only ſignal for reputation paſt. The Helvetians were not apprized of the tragical end of Galba, and reſuſed to own the Sovereignty of Vitellius.

lius. But the commencement of the war proceeded from the eagerness and rapacity of the twenty-first Legion, who had violently seized as plunder, the money which the Helvetians were sending to pay the garrison of a fort, which for a long time past they had maintained with their own men and money. The Helvetians, who bore this heinously, caused to be intercepted the letters, which in the name of the German Army were carrying to the Legions in Pannoni, and made prisoners of a Centurion and some soldiers. Cæcina, who longed passionately for war, proceeded always to take vengeance for every offence, within his reach, as fast as it was committed, before the offender could have time to claim the merit of remorse and submission. In an instant he decamped and marched, laid the whole country waste, and sacked a fine place, magnificently built during a long peace, in imitation of a large municipal city, and greatly frequented for the sake of its charming and salubrious Baths. He likewise dispatched expresses into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country, to fall upon the Helvetians in the rear, while they made head against the forces of the Legion.

The Helvetians, so fierce and daring while danger was at a distance, were struck and terrified when it arrived. Upon the first alarm, indeed, they had chosen a Leader, Claudius Severus. But they knew not the use of their arms, knew not how to keep their ranks, nor how to pursue any united counsel for the benefit of the whole. Pernicious they thought must be a trial of a battle against troops so regular and experienced; and it was utterly unsafe to abide a siege within walls that were ruinous and old. Here they stood exposed to Cæcina with a powerful army; there to the Cohorts and Squadrons of horse from Rhætia. The Rhætian Youth too were inured to arms, and diligently trained in
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the discipline of war. On every side they were beset with devastation and slaughter. In the midst of all this distress and terror, running hither and thither, and casting away their arms, they fled at last to the mountain Vocetius, the most part of them wounded, or in utter disarray. From thence too they were instantly driven by a band of Thracians purposely sent; and, as the Germans also and Rhæ-tians pursued them, they were all slaughtered amongst the woods, and even in their own lurking holes. Many thousands were cut off, and many thousands sold to bondage. As the army, after having committed universal ravage and spoil, were now marching in order of battle towards Aventicum, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were dispatched to offer a surrender of the city, and the surrender was accepted. Upon Julius Alpinus, Cæcina caused capital punishment to be inflicted, as upon one who had stirred up the war. To the judgment of Vitellius, whether the same proved cruelty or mercy, he remitted all the rest.

Easy it is not to assert, which of the two, the Emperor or the soldiers, the Helvetian Embassadors found most implacable and unrelenting. The soldiers insisted, that the city should be utterly demolished, and, with menacing hands and weapons, insulted the Embassadors in the face. Nor did Vitellius refrain from threats and reproaches; till Claudius Cossus, one of the Embassadors, a man of noted eloquence, but now concealing his faculty of persuading under an assumed and artful tremor, and thence persuading the more powerfully, calmed and assuaged the animosity of the soldiers. Such is the genius of the vulgar, ever subject to sudden shiftings of their passions; this moment, cruel without measure, and the next, equally addicted to compassion and mercy. At last by a torrent of tears, and by imploring, with a steady perseverance, a milder determination,

termination, they obtained to their city pardon and security.

Cæcina, while he tarried some few days in the country of the Helvetians, till he had learned the pleasure of Vitellius, and preparing at the same time to pass the Alps, received glad tidings from Italy, that the Squadron of horse named *Silena*, and then quartering about the Po, had sworn fealty to Vitellius. That Squadron had served under Vitellius in Africa, when he was Proconsul there. They were afterwards recalled from thence by Nero, in order to be sent forward into Egypt, but, upon the insurrection of Vindex, detained from going. They at this time sojourned in Italy; and, at the instigation of their officers, men unacquainted with Otho, men engaged by obligations to Vitellius, and always magnifying to them the mighty strength of the approaching Legions, with the signal renown of the German Army, they went over to the same party. And as a present to their new Prince, with themselves they brought into his interest the strongest municipal cities in the territories beyond the Po, those of Milan, Novara, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Cæcina had this information directly from themselves. And because the most extensive region in Italy could not be guarded by a single band of cavalry, he dispatched thither before him the several Cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians, and Britons, with the body of German troops, and the Squadron of horse called *Taurina*. He himself remained in some short suspense, whether it were not adviseable to bend his march over the mountains of Rhætia, towards Noricum, against Petronius, Governor of that province, who having on all hands raised and assembled forces, and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was supposed to act from an attachment to Otho, But dreading the reinforcements of foot and horse, sent already forward; reflecting too, that
from

from securing Italy more glory would accrue; and that where-ever the decisive battle were fought, Noricum would certainly prove one of the acquisitions following a general victory, he ordered his soldiers lightly armed to take their route over the Appennine, and led the heavy body of Legionary forces over the Alps, still covered with the bleak horrors of winter.

Otho, in the mean time, contrary to the expectation of all men, languished not in sloth, nor was lulled asleep by any of his pleasures. All his voluptuous sallies were suspended and postponed, his passion for luxury was artfully dissembled, and all things conducted suitably to the dignity of the Empire. Hence was administered the greater cause of public fear, as these virtues were known to be hollow and assumed, and a certain return was apprehended of his vices, which were natural and tried. Before himself in the Capitol, he caused to be produced Marius Celsus, Consul elect, the same whom, under colour of committing him to durance, he had already rescued from the cruelty of the soldiers. He aimed to obtain a character of tenderness, and clemency by mercy shewn to a man so illustrious, and so odious to all the partizans of Otho's cause. Celsus when he appeared, confessedly resolutely the imputed crime, of having persevered in his faith and duty to Galba: he even appealed to Otho, whether he ought not to approve such an example of fidelity. Nor did Otho treat him as a criminal pardoned; but to manifest that he feared none of his enemies, to whom he had once declared himself reconciled, forthwith admitted him amongst his most intimate friends, and presently after chose him one of his Generals for conducting the war. In Celsus too, by a kind of fatality, there remained for Otho also a fidelity unshaken and unhappy. From the saving of Celsus there ensued much joy amongst

amongst all men of rank in Rome, many acclamations amongst the populace, and no sort of distaste even among the soldiers, who in him admired the very same virtue, against which they had been so much incensed.

This flight of public joy was followed by another equally great, though upon a consideration widely different, namely, the deadly doom of Tigellinus, obtained by the cry of the public. Sophronius Tigellinus sprang from parents altogether obscure; his younger years were defiled with unnatural prostitution, and his old age abandoned to chambering and lubricity. When, by a course of vices, as the quickest means of preferment, he had gained the command of the Watch, then of the Prætorian Bands, and other rewards due to virtue, he began to exercise cruelty, rapacity, and the like masculine villainies. Nero he had corrupted to every iniquity, and had the boldness to perpetrate many unknown to Nero. At last he forsook and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more vehemently urged, by such as hated and by such as lamented Nero, both concurring from opposite passions, in the same antipathy and request. While Galba reigned, he was protected by the mighty authority of Titus Vinius, on pretence that his daughter had been saved by Tigellinus; and it is without doubt that he had saved her, yet from no clemency of his, (after such numbers murdered by him) but purely to purchase means of shelter and escape in time to come. For this is the policy of every desperate offender; from distrust of present fortune, and dread of change, to arm himself betimes with private favour against the public hate. Hence it comes that for the protection of innocence no regard is shewn; but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from punishment. The people were the more inflamed, for that with their old detestation of
of

of Tigellinus there concurred their recent bitterness towards Titus Vinius: And from every quarter of the City they now flocked to the palace, and the Forums, and especially with their multitudes they filled the Circus and several Theatres, places where the populace are wont to exert their highest acts of licentiousness. There they clamoured with bold and seditious words, till the fatal injunction to die was dispatched to Tigellinus, then at the Baths of Sinuessæ. There it reached him; and, amidst a herd of harlots, after many passionate embraces, after many base and unmanly delays, he at last cut his throat with a razor, and brought a fresh stain upon his life, infamous as it was, even by his manner of dying, altogether vile, and meanly low.

At the same time, against Galvia Crispinilla capital punishment was demanded: But, by eluding the prosecution several artful ways, and by the connivance of the Prince, who by acting a double part incurred public censure, she escaped her doom. She had been to Nero the directress of his lusts, and afterwards passing over to Africa to instigate Clodius Macer to a revolt, avowedly laboured to furnish the people of Rome: yet after this, becoming exalted and secured by her marriage with a Consul, she acquired the good graces of the whole City, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Thenceforward she continued mighty in credit, by being opulent and childless; two considerations equally prevalent in good times and in bad.

Frequent the while were the letters which passed from Otho to Vitellius, all contaminated with soothing and blandishments only proper to be used to women. In these he offered him treasure and favour, and such a place of retirement as he himself should chuse to live in, suitable to his profuse life and taste. With the very same offers Vitellius
tempted

tempted Otho, and in the same soft terms. For at first they both treated in a way of dissimulation, full of nonsense and absurdity. Then, as it were, proceeding to plain scolding, they upbraided each other with their whoredoms, and profligate doings. Nor in this did either bring a false charge against the other. Otho, having recalled the Embassadors sent by Galba, dispatched others in their room, in the plausible name of the Senate, to both the Armies in Germany, to the Italic Legion, and to the Forces quartering at Lyons. These Embassadors continued with Vitellius, with such frankness as seemed no proof that they were detained by force. But the party of the Prætorian guards, who by the appointment of Otho accompanied them, under the appearance of respect and attendance, were obliged to return back, without being suffered to mix amongst the soldiers of the Legions. Moreover Fabius Valens transmitted letters to the Prætorian Bands, and City Cohorts, in the name of the German Army, magnifying the mighty forces attached to that interest, and offering friendship and association. He there likewise upbraided them for transferring the Sovereignty to Otho, when it had been so long before legally conferred upon Vitellius. Thus were they at once assailed by promises and menaces, as men utterly unequal to sustain the war, but in no danger of losing by accepting terms of peace. Nor for all this, did the Prætorian bands vary their plighted faith.

Now, as both chiefs were employing snares and ministers of death against each other, there were instruments of this sort dispatched by Otho into Germany, others by Vitellius to Rome; and the attempts on both sides were defeated. But their agents fared differently. Those of Vitellius escaped undistinguished in the mighty and promiscuous crowd at Rome, where the persons and concerns

of men are to each other unknown; whereas they who came from Otho were quickly remarked as new faces in the quarters of Vitellius, where all men were mutually known to each other, and thence their design was betrayed. Vitellius too wrote to Titianus, brother to Otho, threatening to put him and his son to death, in case his mother and children were not protected in perfect security at Rome. In truth the families of both were preserved unhurt, under both princes successively. But whether the mercy and forbearance of Otho were not founded in fear, remains an uncertainty. For Vitellius, who proved to be the conqueror, acquired thence the glory of clemency unforced.

The first tidings from abroad that raised the assurance of Otho, were from Illyricum; namely, that the Legions in Dalmatia, in Pannonia, and in Mœsia, had declared for him, and sworn allegiance. The like good news arrived from Spain, and Cluvius Rufus the Governor, was applauded in a public Edict for such acceptable service: whereas it became presently known, that Spain had revolted to Vitellius. Nor in truth did Aquitaine persist long in obedience, though they of that Province had, by the influence of Julius Cordus, sworn fealty to Otho. There prevailed no where any sincere affections in the hearts, nor any true faith in the actions of men; and only by the impressions of terror and necessity they were transported and changed hither and thither. From the same dread, the Province of Narbon Gaul acceded to the party that was nearest and strongest. The Provinces far remote, and all the forces beyond the seas, continued subject to Otho; from no partiality or zeal to his title or interest; but in the name of Rome, and in the authority of the Senate, infinite weight was found. Besides, their minds were pre-occupied in his behalf, as the first that they had heard nominated.

nated. The Army in Judea were by Vespasian sworn to Otho, as were the Legions in Syria by Mucianus. Egypt too, and all the Provinces extending to the East, were governed in his name. The like submission was paid him in Africa, according to the example begun by Carthage. Indeed, without waiting for the authority of Vipsianus Apronianus, the Proconsul, Crescens a freed-man of Nero's, (for these sort of creatures too in calamitous times, thrust themselves into the administration of the state) had presented a feast to the people there, in order to celebrate with rejoicings the accession of a new Emperor: and upon this occasion, the impatient populace ran into many extravagancies, without regard had to any rule or restraint. The precedent set by Carthage was followed by the other African Cities. Whilst the Armies and the Provinces were thus rent and attached to opposite interests, it, in truth, behoved Vitellius, if he would gain the Sovereignty, to gain it by war.

Otho, in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, was applying himself to the civil administration of the Empire, with a conduct, in some instances, becoming the dignity of the State, but for the most part unsuitable to the public honour, through haste and impatience to find present expedients for daily exigencies. Himself and Titianus his brother he named Consuls, to continue till the Calends of March. For the two following months in that office he appointed Verginius; a matter of favour, by which he meant to soften and court the German Army. To Verginius he joined, for a Collegue, Pompeius Vopiscus, under colour of ancient friendship, but, in the opinion of most men, as a real compliment of honour paid to the people of Vienne. The other designations to the Consulship remained just as they had been settled by Nero or Galba. Hence, Cælius and Flavius, each fir-

named Sabinus, were the succeeding Consuls till July; as were Arius Antonius and Marius Celsus till September. Nor was this dignity of theirs abolished or questioned even by Vitellius after he proved Conqueror. Moreover, upon such ancient Senators as had already sustained illustrious functions in the State, Otho, for the last completion of their public honours, conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; and for a consolation to young Noblemen, lately under exile, but now recalled, he invested them with such sacerdotal offices as had been enjoyed by their fathers or forefathers. To Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæsus, and Sevinus Promptinus, Senators degraded in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, and condemned for robbing the Public, their dignity was now restored. In repealing their sentence, it was thought fit to new name their crime, that what was real rapine might now seem to have been only a charge of treason; a charge become so odious, that, in detestation of it, other laws, however salutary, were disused and lost.

By the like methods of benevolence, he also attempted to gain the affections of whole Cities and Provinces. He supplied the Colonies of Hispalis and Emerita with a fresh recruit of families. He made the whole people of the Lingones free Citizens of Rome. To the Province of Bætica he made a present of all the Cities of the Moors. He established new privileges in Cappadocia, new privileges in Africa, more in truth for ostentation and renown, than that they were likely to continue. During these transactions, which, from the necessity of the conjuncture, and the cares which urged him on every side, passed for excusable, he forgot not to recall fondnesses past; and while his Sovereignty was yet at stake, procured a decree of Senate for replacing the several statues of Poppæa. He is even believed to have had under frequent deliberation the celebrating

celebrating of Nero's memory with public Honours, with a view to win the hearts of the populace. Nay, some there were who in public places erected the images of Nero; and during certain days, the people and soldiers uttered their acclamations to Otho, by the name of *Nero Otho*; as if by this title they intended him additional nobility and lustre; while he himself remained silent and undetermined, perhaps ashamed to accept the compliment, perhaps afraid to forbid it.

Whilst the minds of men were intent upon the progress and issue of the civil war, foreign transactions passed unregarded. Hence it was that the Roxolani, a people of Sarmatia, who had the preceding winter cut off two of our Cohorts, made an irruption the more daringly into Mœsia, with mighty expectation. They were nine thousand horse, animated by past success with notable assurance and disdain, and more possessed with the thoughts of spoil than of fighting. As therefore they roved about, dispersed and regardless of an enemy, they were suddenly beset by the third Legion accompanied by its auxiliaries. Amongst the Roman forces all things were aptly disposed for an encounter. Those of Sarmatia, on the contrary, were either scattered abroad in eager quest of prey, or loaded with it, and through the slipperiness of the ways deprived of all aid from the fleetness of their horses: so that they were slaughtered like men bound and helpless. For wonderful it is to be observed, that all the bravery of the Sarmatians, is as it were, external and disjointed from the men. In combats on foot, nothing is so spiritless and unmanly as they: when they advance as a body of horse, scarce can any army whatsoever withstand them. But upon this occasion, the day being wet, and the frost dissolving, they were neither able to wield their mighty spears, nor their huge sabres, sabres so long that

with both their hands they manage them : for under them now their horses slipped and fell, and left them encumbered with their ponderous coats of mail ; such as by all their Princes and Nobles are worn. It is an armour framed of plates of iron, or of leather infinitely hard ; and though it be impenetrable by any weapon, yet to such as are by the force of an enemy cast down, it is also a sure obstacle to rising again. They were moreover involved in the snow, at once deep and melting. The Roman soldiers the while, in wieldy armour, assail the Sarmatians, now by a shower of darts, anon with the points of their javelins, then, when opportunity invited, in close combat, with their light and manageable swords goring the defenceless foe, (for, to secure themselves with a shield, is not their custom) till a few of them who survived the battle, betook themselves to coverts in the marshes, where, through the rigour of winter, and the extremity of their wounds, they all perished. As this became known at Rome, Marcus Aponius, appointed Governor of Mœsia, was distinguished with a triumphal Statue ; as were Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numisius Lupus, Commanders of the Legions there, with the consular Ornaments. And great was the joy manifested upon this occasion by Otho, who to himself assumed the glory, as if he too were blest with felicity in war, and by the interposition of his Captains and Armies the Empire were thus aggrandized.

In the mean time, from a contemptible source, whence nothing was dreaded, there arose a sedition, which well nigh involved the City in destruction. Otho had ordered the seventeenth Cohort to be removed from Ostia to Rome ; and the care of supplying them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a Tribune of the Prætorian guards. He, chusing for the execution of his orders the hour of
most

most leisure, in the close of the evening, when all the camp was composed, directed the Armory to be opened, and the carriages belonging to the Cohort to be loaded. The lateness of the hour administered jealousy, the action itself passed for highly criminal, the study of privacy and quiet ended in an uproar, and the drunken soldiery, upon the sight of these arms, found themselves instigated to use their arms. The body raged and clamoured, and charged their Tribunes and Centurions with ill faith and traitorous designs, as if "the whole tribe of domestics belonging to the several Senators were to have been armed against the person and cause of Otho." Part of them were intoxicated with wine, and knew not the cause of the alarm; all the worst and most profligate sought an occasion to plunder. The herd and generality, according to custom, were delighted with every new tumult and commotion whatsoever; and such as were better disposed, were not able to manifest their duty in the dark. Crispinus the Tribune, who laboured to repress their seditious fury, they murdered, with such Centurions who were remarkable for severity of discipline. Then instantly they put themselves under arms, and mounting upon horses, with their swords drawn, advanced directly to Rome, then to the imperial Palace.

Otho was then entertaining at a grand banquet the principal Lords and Ladies of the City. Terror seized these his guests, and doubt, whether their danger proceeded from the casual rage of the soldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the Emperor. Unresolved too they were, which was the more perilous choice, to stay together and be taken, or to fly and disperse. This moment they counterfeited notable courage; the next they betrayed their dread; and constantly watched the countenance of Otho. So that, as it usually happens to

minds bent to suspicion, they feared Otho, when he himself was under fear. In truth, as he was equally terrified with the danger threatening the Senate as with his own, he not only dispatched forthwith the Captains of the guards to mollify the rage of the soldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all speed. Then it was that all fled for safety: Roman Magistrates cast away the ensigns of their authority and state, and deserted their usual train of followers and slaves. Tender Ladies, ancient Nobles, rambled in the dark, hither and thither, few to their own home, most to the houses of their friends; and chiefly they sought lurking holes amongst the basest of their dependants, where search and pursuit was least apprehended.

The violence of the soldiers was such, that the gates of the palace proved no check to them from forcing their way into the banquetting chamber, where with one mouth they demanded to have a sight of Otho; having in their passage wounded Julius Martialis, a Tribune, and Vitellius Saturninus, Colonel of a Legion, two officers who strove to oppose their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandished, and terrible menaces were uttered, now against the Tribunes and Centurions, and in the next breath against the whole body of the Senate. For with a panic fear, blind and causeless, their minds were bewitched and inflamed: So that, as they could assign no particular victim to their own fury, they claimed a latitude for general slaughter; till Otho, standing upon his banquetting couch, had by supplications and tears, to the abasement of Imperial Dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to desist. They then returned to their camp, but with much regret and ill-will, and not exempt from the foul stain of blood and guilt. The next day, as if the City had been taken
by.

by an enemy, the houses continued close shut up; scarce a soul was to be seen in the streets; the people were abandoned to mourning and sadness; and the soldiers, with down-cast looks, shewed rather a shocking gloominess than any tokens of remorse. Their Captains Licinius Proculus, and Plotius Firmus, harangued them in companies apart, with a stile of softness or asperity suitable to the different spirits of the speakers. However they spoke, the result of the discourse was no other than that to the soldiers should be distributed five thousand Sesterces * a man. Then, and not before, Otho ventured to enter the camp: There the Tribunes and Centurions gathered round him, in the guise of private men, having quitted the badges denoting their ranks, and implored him with earnestness to dismiss them from the service, and to protect them in their lives. Well the soldiery saw what an heavy odium was derived upon themselves by this request of their Officers, and with a behaviour formed to duty and obedience, required, of their own mere motion, "That upon the authors of the insurrection the pains of death should be inflicted."

Otho not only found himself beset with great combustions and civil disorders, but the inclinations of the soldiery jarring and divided. All the innocent and best amongst them insisted upon a remedy to the present licentiousness and outrage: The croud and majority delighted in frequent seditions, in a government conducted by largesses and corruption; and hence by being indulged in tumults and feats of rapine, were the more easily instigated to the prosecution of the civil war. He reflected too, that a Sovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preserved by righteous orders sud-

* Thirty-nine pounds, five shillings..

denly established, and by reviving the rigid virtue and purity of the ancient Romans. However, as he was anxious about the danger of the City, and the doom which threatened the Senate, he at last spoke to them in this fashion.

“ I come not hither with design either of kind-
“ ling your affections to me ward, my fellow sol-
“ diers, or to animate you to bravery against the
“ foe : for both your bravery and your affections
“ signally overflow. But I come to entreat you,
“ to qualify the heat of your magnanimity with an
“ alloy, and confine within some bounds your zeal
“ and tenderness for me. The beginning of the
“ late tumult arose from no thirst of prey, from no
“ hate to the persons of men, (motives which have
“ excited many armies to strife and uproar) nor
“ from any dread of peril, or desire to shun it ;
“ but your devotion to me, over-passionate and
“ fond, roused you to it with more acrimony than
“ reflection. For many an honest cause and coun-
“ sel, when not conducted by sound judgment, is
“ followed by pernicious events. We are proceed-
“ ing to war. Now, does the reason of things
“ permit, does the nature of times and occasions
“ permit, (things which are presented and lost with
“ equal and infinite velocity) that every express,
“ every article of intelligence be publickly com-
“ municated, and in the presence of the whole ar-
“ my every difficulty be discussed, and all our coun-
“ sels holden ? To be ignorant of some things equal-
“ ly behoves a soldier as to be well acquainted with
“ others. Such is the authority of a General, such
“ the quality and rigour of discipline, that for the
“ preservation of both, it is often inevitably neces-
“ sary, that even to the Tribunes and Centurions
“ many positive commands be given without any
“ reasons annexed. Were it allowed to every par-
“ ticular, when he receives orders, to ask why, all
“ obe-

“ obedience being thus lost, the loss of Sovereign
“ Empire would immediately follow. And yet
“ shall soldiers, of their own heads, fly to their
“ arms in the dead of night? Shall one or two single
“ men, desperate and drunken, (for that more than
“ two run thus mad in the late distraction, I am
“ loth to believe) shall they dare to embue their
“ hands in the blood of their Tribunes and Cen-
“ turions? shall they be allowed to burst into their
“ Emperor’s Pavilion?

“ It must be owned indeed, it was on my behalf
“ that these excesses were committed. But during
“ the fallies of this insurrection, which was con-
“ ducted at random in the dark, and in the uni-
“ versal confusion following it, an occasion for
“ forming attempts too against me, might have been
“ easily administered. What else could Vitellius,
“ and the creatures of Vitellius, make the burden
“ of their imprecations against us? And if in their
“ breasts the option lay, what other bent of spirit,
“ what other understanding could they wish us?
“ Would they not naturally wish for tumult and
“ discord amongst us; that the soldier should re-
“ fuse to obey the centurion, the centurion to obey
“ the tribune; and that in a general confusion of
“ horse and foot, we might all in a body run preci-
“ pitately to destruction? Rather by due obedience,
“ my fellow soldiers, than by sedulously examining
“ the commands of superiors, is government pre-
“ served amongst military men: And always most
“ brave in a day of danger does that army prove,
“ which before danger appeared, had remained most
“ quiet and dutiful. To be armed and valorous
“ be your part; to me leave the prerogative of
“ counsel, and the direction of your magnanimity.
“ Of the late transgression there were but few guilty;
“ of those few two only shall bear the punishment.
“ Labour, all the rest of you, to obliterate the me-
“ mory

“ mory of that abominable and infamous night;
“ nor let those horrible expressions uttered against
“ the Senate be ever heard by any other army. To
“ demand to execution that venerable body of men,
“ who together constitute the head of the Empire,
“ and are the glory and ornaments of the Provin-
“ ces, is a thing so atrocious, that even the fell
“ Germans, they whom Vitellius is animating with
“ all his might against us, would not dare to at-
“ tempt. And is it yet possible, that any of the
“ native sons of Italy, that the genuine progeny of
“ Romans, should cruelly require the blood and
“ lives of that glorious Order, by whose lustre and
“ renown derived upon us, we bring apparent con-
“ tempt and obscurity upon the sordid party of Vi-
“ tellius? Vitellius has seized some countries; he
“ has too the appearance of an army; but with us
“ is the Senate. Hence it comes to pass, that the
“ Commonwealth stands on our side; on his the
“ enemies of the Commonwealth. How! Do you
“ indeed believe, that the essence of this City, of
“ all others the fairest, consists in walls and roofs
“ and piles of stone? These are things dumb and
“ inanimate, and subject indifferently to ruin or
“ repair: But upon the security and well-being of
“ the Senate is established the eternity of the State,
“ the peace of nations, with your welfare and mine.
“ By the Father and Founder of our City this ve-
“ nerable Order was instituted, with the interposi-
“ tion of Auspices solemnly observed: from the time
“ of our kings to that of the Cæsars, it continually
“ subsisted. As we received it from our ancestors,
“ let us deliver it down, immortal, to posterity.
“ For, as from amongst you Senators spring; so
“ Princes arise from amongst Senators.”

This speech, contrived both to rebuke and to
mollify the spirit of the soldiery, was favourably re-
ceived, as was the moderate measure of punishment
in-

inflicted ; for he ordered no more than two to suffer. Thus was some compofure wrought amongst these men, whom no violent correction could have quelled. The tranquility however of the City was not yet restored. There still was heard the uproar of arms ; and a face of war subsisted. It is true the soldiery committed no public insults, nor rioted in a body ; but dispersed every where up and down, they crept into houses in disguised habits, as spies watching with virulent minds and curiosity, for matter of mischief and destruction against all, who by their nobility, or wealth, or any other notable pre-eminence, were signal enough to be subject to popular and flying rumour. Some too believed, that certain soldiers from the army of Vitellius were arrived at Rome, purposely to sound the spirit of the parties there. Hence all places were filled with suspicion and distrust ; nay, scarce were men exempt from caution and fear in their most secret recesses at home. But abroad, under the eye of the public, this sort of dread most of all prevailed. There, people were careful to shift their passions and faces according to the quality of the news which were said to be brought ; that when affairs bore an ambiguous aspect, they might seem to manifest no diffidence of success, nor be slow in rejoicing when prosperous. But upon the several Senators assembled in Council, the most perilous task lay, how to preserve in all points a conduct safe and unexceptionable ; lest their silence might be construed haughtiness and contumacy, lest by liberty of speech his jealousy should be roused : and were they to utter flights of flattery, these Otho would readily see through, he who having been lately a subject, had then used the same stile. They therefore dealt in repetitions, dwelt upon the motions which they made, and varied and wrested them to every sense, according as it appeared most acceptable ; but always

ways sure to bestow upon Vitellius the names of *Public Enemy* and *Parricide*. They who were most artful and wary, confined themselves to such invectives as being common and vulgar, were not remarkable: some assailed him with bold reproaches and well grounded, but took care to utter them under the din of a general clamour, and when many were speaking at once, or to confound them amongst a tumultuous tide of words purposely poured out by themselves.

Moreover from divers prodigies, attested by several authorities, much public terror arose. From the hands of the Statue of Victory, standing upon her chariot in the porch of the Capitol, the reins dropped. Out of the Chapel appertaining to Juno, there suddenly arose an apparition of a size more than human. The Statue of the deified Julius, erected in an island in the Tiber, was found turned quite round from the west to the east, upon a day utterly free from rain and tempests. In Etruria an ox spoke. There were animals that produced unusual births; with many other wonders, which during the ignorant ages, proved matter of observation even in times of peace, but now are only heard when public terror prevails. But there intervened a dread still more affecting, one not only of calamities future, but accompanied by present desolation, and caused by a precipitate inundation from the Tiber, whose waters swelling to an immense height overthrew the Sublician bridge, and having their course obstructed by the heap of ruins, besides overflowing the adjacent quarters which were level, covered places which were reckoned secure against any such disaster. Many were swept away in the streets; and more drowned in their shops and beds. Amongst the populace famine ensued, both through scarcity of provision and want of employment to earn it. Moreover such buildings as for stand-

standing by themselves are called Isles, having their foundation sapped and weakened by the flood surrounding them, sunk into ruins when the waters returned. No sooner were the minds of men free from this peril which had so much awakened them, but they found another matter of prodigy, big with direful and impending calamities, though it proceeded from causes evidently fortuitous or natural; namely, that the field of Mars and the causeway of Flaminius, were both so obstructed, that Otho, when ready to march, could not that way take his route to the war.

Otho having performed the solemnity of lustration, by purifying the city with sacrifices, weighed carefully all the methods of conducting the war; and, seeing the passages over the Appennine mountains with those of the Cottian Alps, and all the other approaches to Gaul, beset and shut up by the armies of Vitellius, resolved to invade the province of Narbon Gaul with a powerful force by sea, all faithfully attached to his party: For, amongst the soldiers of the Legions he had engrafted all those who had survived the slaughter of their brethren at the Milvian bridge, and had been by Galba cruelly doomed to a prison. To the others too hopes were given of rising in good time to more honourable ranks in the service. The navy he enforced with the City Cohorts, and with a detachment from the Prætorian bands; a reinforcement intended as the prime force and bulwark of the army, and to assist the commanders with counsel, as well as to serve them for guards. To Antonius Novellus, to Suedius Clemens, both lately Centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a Tribune dismissed by Galba, and now by Otho re-established, the direction in chief of the expedition was committed. But the care and controul of all the ships was referred to Osecus his Freedman, who was employed

to inspect the fidelity and behaviour of men more honourable than himself. The command of the foot and horse was assigned to Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus; but in Licinius Proculus, Captain of the Prætorian guards, the chief confidence was placed. This man, who was a prompt officer amongst the troops at Rome, but in war unexperienced, made it his business to arraign and blacken the eminent name and authority of Paulinus, the spirit and vivacity of Celsus, the gravity and coolness of Annius, and to blast with some calumny of his every excellence of theirs; and thus came, by being mischievous and crafty, to surpass in credit such as were virtuous and unassuming; a task exceeding easy to be accomplished.

During those days Cornelius Dolabella was doomed to confinement in the town of Aquine, though under ward no wise strict or solitary; for no crime of his, but only as he was obnoxious and marked out for the ancient lustre of his name, and kindred to Galba. Many of the Magistrates, and a great part of such as had been Consuls, were by Otho ordered to prepare for the field; with no design of allowing them any share or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongst these was included Lucius Vitellius, distinguished neither as the brother of an Emperor, nor of an enemy. Great was the anxiety and consternation, which upon this occasion possessed the City; nor was any rank of men exempt from this impulse of danger and fear. The chief Senators were by age disabled, or through long peace become listless and unwieldy. The nobles were sunk in sloth, and had quite forgot the wars. The Roman knights were unacquainted with all military functions, and the duties of a Camp. And all these degrees of men, at this time governed by dread, the more they strove to conceal and smother it, did but the more apparently

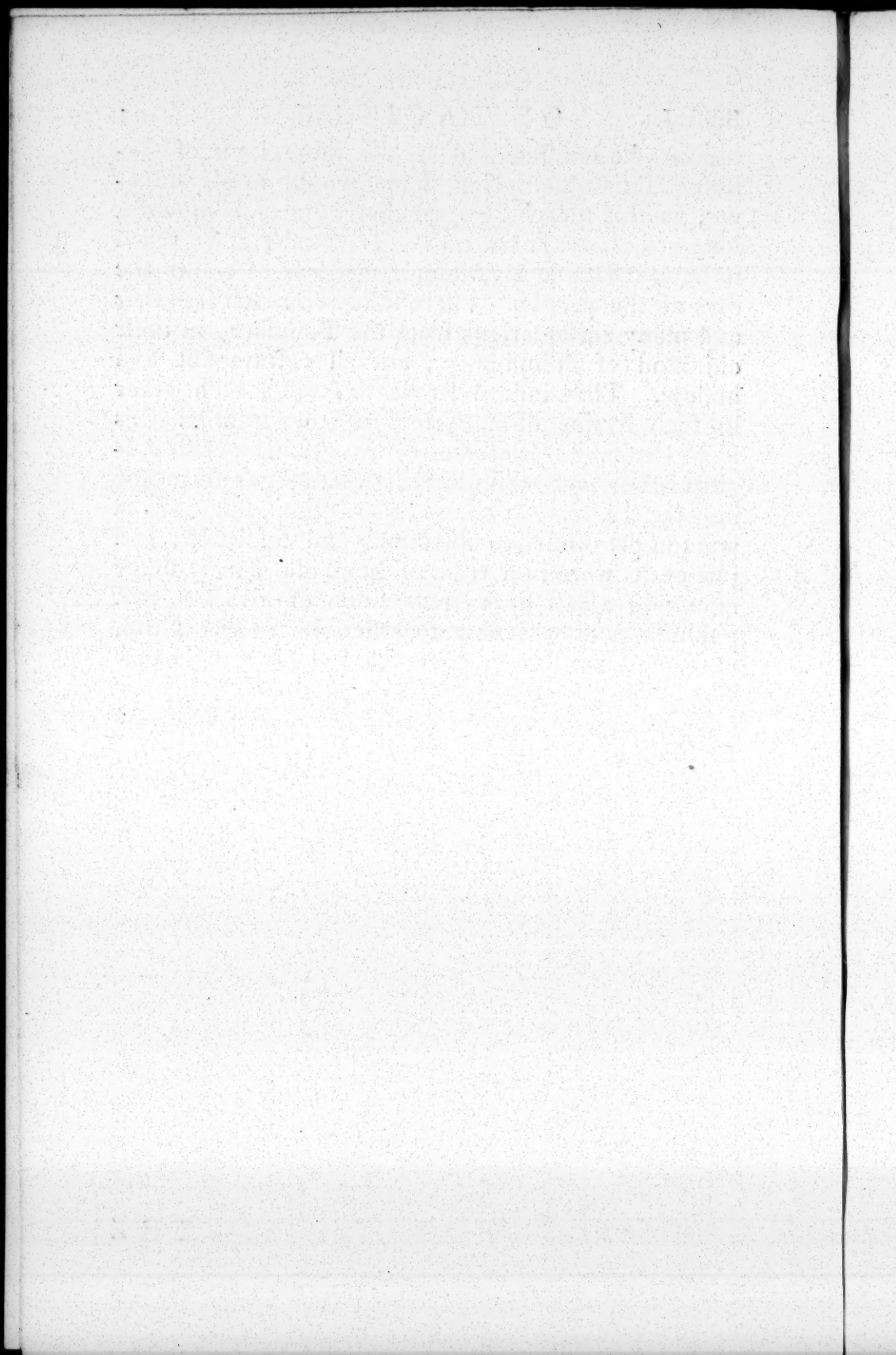
rently discover how greatly they dreaded. Nor, on the contrary, were there wanting some, who, from an ambition altogether stupid and ridiculous, purchased themselves gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately steeds; or others who provided materials and preparatives for riot and feasting, with all the implements and incentives to feats of voluptuousness, as so many instruments of war. Every wise man felt an affecting zeal for public tranquility, and the welfare of the State: The giddy and thoughtless, such as are unable to judge of things future, were puffed up with extravagant hopes. Many there were, who finding their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, became elevated upon the public commotions, and in the general distraction found most security to themselves in particular.

Now the body of the people, who are by their numbers so infinite and mighty, debarred from a participation of public counsels and cares, began to feel by degrees the heavy evil and pressures of war; as to the use of the soldiery all the money was applied, and the price of provisions augmented; misfortunes which upon the insurrection of Vindex, had no wise oppressed the Commonalty. For the City then enjoyed peace and security, and the seat of the war being in one of the provinces, it seemed no other than a foreign war maintained between our Legions and the people of Gaul. For, ever since the deified Augustus established the sovereignty of the Cæsars, the Roman People had warred always amongst nations far remote, and to one man alone the glory or anxiety belonged. Under Tiberius and Caligula, men had only to dread the cruelties of pacific tyranny. The attempts of Scribonianus against Claudius were at once divulged and suppressed. Nero was overturned and deprived rather by evil tidings, and the terrors of rumour, than by force of arms. But, at this time, the Fleets and Legions,

gions, and, what is rarely practised, the Prætorian Guards and City Cohorts, were all led forth to fight. The east and west were engaged on the opposite sides, as were all the other forces remaining in the several countries which each competitor left behind him: Ample materials for a war long and fierce, had there been other Chiefs than these to have conducted it. As Otho was upon marching, there were some who started a cause of delay, taken from the omission of a religious ceremony, that of repositing the sacred shields *Ancilia*. But he rejected all arguments for procrastination, as what had proved fatal to Nero: besides he was urged by the approach of Cæcina, who had already passed the Alps.

On the fourteenth of March, having assembled the Senate, to their care he recommended the Commonwealth. And, as the wild grants and bounties of Nero had been resumed, Otho bestowed upon the exiles lately restored all such remainders of these resumptions as were not yet come into his Exchequer: A liberality altogether just, and in sound magnificent, but in effect empty, and frustrated by the eagerness of the Officers, who had a good while before exacted payment of the whole. Anon he assembled the people, and to them boasted, that with his interest and title there concurred the majesty of the City, and joint consent of the People and Senate. Against the adherents of Vitellius he discoursed with great gentleness and restraint, and taxed the Legions rather with ignorance, than with insolence and revolt. Of Vitellius himself he made no mention; whether from any moderation of his own, or whether he who composed the speech, in due fear and caution for himself, declined to assail Vitellius with opprobrious words. For as Otho, in all military deliberations, consulted Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus; so, in his civil administration,

tration, he was believed to use the talents of Galerius Trachalus. Nay, some would needs discover, in this speech, his peculiar flow of eloquence, long celebrated at the public Tribunals, and known to be sounding and diffuse, formed so as to fill the ears of the people. There followed much shouting and many acclamations from the Populace, in their old road of sycophancy; but all extravagant and hollow. They indeed strove to surpass each other in such strains of zeal, and in vows so ardent, as if to Cæsar the Dictator, or to the Emperor Augustus they had been directing them; not from any motives of fear, or any of affection, but from a wanton propensity to abjectness and servitude; and just as it were in a tribe of household slaves, every man was acted by narrow views of his own, and public honour was now regarded by none. Otho, upon leaving Rome, committed to his brother Salvius Titianus, the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the Empire.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K II.

The S U M M A R Y.

Titus sent by his father Vespasian to congratulate Galba, hears of his murder, and stops in Greece; proceeds to Syria, visits the Temple of the Paphian Venus, consults her, has an auspicious answer, returns to his father, who meditates war, but waits an occasion. A counterfeit Nero detected and seized. An account of Otho's forces, generals, and fleet. Commotions in Corsica. Cæcina enters Italy, besieges Placentia, but is repulsed with loss and disgrace; lays an ambush for the army of Otho, but is himself surprized by one of theirs. Valens advances to Ticinum, where his men mutiny against him, but are appeased, yet run headlong to join Cæcina. Otho, upon intelligence of their conjunction, consulted about pushing or prolonging the war; prefers the measures which were boldest and worst. The combat near Bedriacum. The forces of Otho routed,

ed, yet not daunted. Otho, weary of the civil war, dies by his own hand; his steady spirit, calmness, and reasonings. A mutiny of his soldiers; the danger threatened by it to Verginius. A lying report of Otho, as living and victorious; how perilous this to the Senators. Albinus overthrown in Africa; the Provinces there brought to espouse the cause of Vitellius. The proceedings of Vitellius in Italy; how he disposes of the vanquished forces. A tumult of the soldiers at Ticinum. The deliberations of Vespasian and Mucianus in the East about declaring war: The fine speech of the latter. Vespasian is determined, and assumes the Sovereignty: The Legions there swear to him. The forces in Mœsia and Pannonia revolt to his party. Vitellius enters Rome with a huge host; his conduct there. His enemies gather strength: he orders Cæcina and Valens to take the field. Cæcina's Treason. The transactions these of the same year.

FORTUNE at this juncture was ranging materials, in a distant part of the world, for raising an imperial house, which, by a lot extremely diversified, proved to the Commonwealth both refreshing and calamitous, as well as to the race of Princes themselves fortunate and tragical. Titus Vespasian was by his father sent from Judæa towards Galba while Galba yet reigned; and, for the motives of his journey, assigned “the homage to be paid to the Emperor, and the maturity of his own age for courting and sustaining public dignities.” But by the populace, who are ever addicted to conjecture and fiction, it was rumoured abroad, that Galba had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administered by the condition of the Emperor, ancient and childless, and the restless spirit of the City, who would never fail multiplying successors, till the
true

true one were once declared. To heighten the rumour, there concurred the fine spirit of Titus himself, capable of any degree of fortune however elevated, the loveliness of his countenance blended with a certain air of majesty, the reputation and celebrated exploits of his father, propitious oracles, nay, events altogether fortuitous, which now passed, upon minds thus bent to believe, for so many supernatural presages. At Corinth, a city of Achaia, he received certain advices of the murder of Galba: he found some too who averred, that Vitellius had taken up arms, and meant to make war. Hence anxious and unresolved, he called together a few of his friends, and with them examined all the difficulties which on each side beset him. "Should he proceed to Rome, no sort of favour
" could he hope to reap from the present Emperor,
" for a tender of duty, which at first he was bringing to the late one: There, moreover, he must
" expect to remain as an hostage to Vitellius or
" to Otho. Should he, on the contrary, return to
" Judæa, the resentment of the Conqueror would
" be inevitable. But as it was yet uncertain on
" what side the victory would fall, and as his father would engage in one of the parties, the son
" would be easily excused. Or should Vespasian
" resolve to assume the government; then no wise
" to be considered was the giving a particular
" offence, by such as resolved upon a general
" war." When by these and the like conflicts between hope and fear, he had been agitated a while, hope at last prevailed.

There were some who believed, that only from a fond impatience to revisit Queen Berenice, he was moved to return: and it is true, that his soul, youthful and amorous, was not indifferent to Berenice. But from hence arose no neglect in his conducting affairs of duty and trust. During his youth
he

he indulged himself in festivity and pleasures, and proved much more strict and reserved in his own reign than in that of his father. Now after he had sailed along the shores of Achaia and Asia, holding upon his left hand the coasts of the Mediterranean, he proceeded to the isle of Rhodes, to that of Cyprus, and thence held a bolder course through the main sea into Syria. At Cyprus his curiosity prompted him to visit the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much renowned amongst the natives as well as foreigners. Nor will it be tedious here to recount in a few words, the original of that superstition, the antiquity of the Temple, and the form of the Goddess; for no where else is she thus represented.

For the founder of the Temple, antient tradition assigns King Aerias, while some assert this to be the name of the Goddess. By later fame King Cinyras is delivered down, as the person who hallowed and dedicated the Temple. It is added, "That upon this spot the goddess herself landed, "carried thither by the sea, from whence she had "been just generated; but that the mystery and "discipline of divination were derived from abroad, "and introduced by Tamyras of Cilicia; and hence "between him and Cinyras it was stipulated, that to "the descendants of both the administration of the "sacred rites should equally belong." Thereafter, in condescension to the Royal Race, that the same might not remain without any pre-eminence over a foreign line, the strange Diviners resigned these very mysteries which they themselves had introduced. Nor is any priest now consulted, but one descended from Cinyras. Beasts for sacrifice are left to the choice of every votary; yet none but the males are allowed. Most faith is placed in the entrails of kids. The pouring of blood upon the altar is prohibited. Supplications only and pure fire

fire are offered upon the altars; which though they stand exposed to the sky, yet feel no wet from falling rain. The image of the Goddess, without any resemblance of human shape, is a figure round and unequal, which from a bottom rather broad, rises with continual diminution till it terminates in a point, like a spire. For the reason of this we are left in the dark.

When Titus had surveyed the signal wealth of the Temple, the donations of Princes, and other curiosities which the Greeks, who have a genius strangely fond of matters of antiquity, feigned to be derived from antient times, now dark and fabulous; he began to consult the oracle, and first inquired concerning the security of his remaining voyage. Being told that a free passage and a favourable sea awaited him; he slew a number of victims, then proposed questions, but in terms dark and wary, concerning himself. Sostratus (so the priest was called) perceiving the several entrails to be propitious, and all to agree, and the Goddess to approve all the vast designs of the querist; satisfied himself for the present with returning an answer short and usual; but desired a secret interview, and there disclosed to him his future destiny. Titus, with a spirit notably elated and assured, proceeded to his father; and, to the minds of the provinces and armies in the east, yet wavering and unresolved, brought a mighty accession of confidence and firmness. Vespasian had utterly discomfited the revolted Jews, and nothing remained to end the war, but the siege of Jerusalem: a work rendered difficult and stubborn rather through the steepness of situation, and invincible spirit of superstition, than from any remaining strength or forces equal to the power and distresses which threatened it. Three Legions, as above I have remembered, were under the command of Vespasian, men thoroughly exercised in

war. Mucianus commanded four, in full peace; but, awakened by emulation, and the glory of the neighbouring army, they had rejected all unwieldiness and sloth; and whatever robustness and activity the former might gather from a life of hardships and perils, no less vigour accrued to the latter from a state of repose, and from the daily exercises of war without being in it. Both Generals had their auxiliary forces, Cohorts of foot, and Squadrons of horse, with naval armaments and confederate Kings; and both were Commanders signal and renowned, but signal from different causes and characters.

In every duty of war Vespasian was indefatigable; it was he who always led the march, he who always chose the ground for encamping. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days, and was ever ready, upon an exigency, to grapple with the enemy hand to hand. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon the whole, a Commander he was, who, had he been exempt from avarice, would have equalled the famous Chiefs of antient times. Mucianus, on the contrary, was raised to great eminence and splendor by his abundant wealth and magnificence; as in these and in all things he surpassed the figure of a subject. He was the abler orator, and, being a great master of civil affairs, more prompt in foreseeing events, and more dexterous at concerting of schemes. Between them, in truth, was found a rare assortment of talents for forming an Emperor, if, by a separation of the vices of each, only the virtues of both could have been blended. For the rest; as one ruled over Syria, the other over Judæa, from the governing of two bordering provinces, between them there had subsisted a humour of envy and contention; till at length, upon the fall of
Nero,

Nero, they dropped their animosities, and acted in concert for their mutual security and interest: a union first begun by the interposition of friends, afterwards accomplished by Titus, who proved the surest pledge of their reconciliation. It was he who eradicated their dangerous and ill-boding strife, by motives of unanimity salutary to both; as he was well qualified by nature, and every accomplishment, to captivate also the taste and affections of Mucianus. The Tribunes, the Centurions, and common body of the soldiery were all gained into the confederacy, by different applications to their several virtues or pleasures, according to the genius of particulars; some by complimenting their industry, others by indulging their riot.

Before the arrival of Titus both armies had already sworn fidelity to Otho. With such velocity, according to custom, had flown their intelligence from Rome, and so heavy and slow was their movement towards the mighty work of a civil war; a work which the east, undisturbed through a long course of years by intestine feuds, was now for the first time preparing to undertake. For, in former times, all the most powerful conflicts amongst the Romans were begun in Italy and Gaul, and supported by the forces of the west. Moreover, the arms of Pompey, of Cassius, and Brutus, and Antony, who were all followed by the civil war beyond the seas, ended fatally: and in Syria and Judæa the Cæsars were much oftener mentioned than beheld. No tumult or insurrection was ever known amongst the Legions there. Their attacks upon the Parthians were no more than alarms, given with various success. In the very last civil war, whilst elsewhere the rage of dissention was felt, peace remained unshaken here. When afterwards it was divulged, that Otho and Vitellius were with impious arms hastening to seize as a prey the Roman

State; the soldiers provoked, that whilst others enjoyed wages and rewards for bestowing the Empire, they themselves were only doomed slaves to every Emperor, began to rage, and survey their own strength and numbers. Instantly they counted seven Legions of themselves, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two Provinces of Syria and Judæa in their possession. To these lay contiguous that of Egypt, and two Legions there. On the other hand they beheld Cappadocia and Pontus, with the several forces quartered upon the frontiers of Armenia; Asia too, and the other provinces, abounding in money, and not destitute of men; with all the isles of the sea, and the sea itself ready to afford them encouragement and safety, whilst they prepared for the war.

The ardour of the soldiery was no secret to the Generals. But they judged proper to await the issue of the war in Europe. “Between the conqueror and the conquered, they concluded no sincere peace, no solid coalition could be established. Neither availed it, whether to Otho or Vitellius fortune awarded the superiority. To wax insolent and wanton upon prosperity, was the lot even of Captains renowned for prowess. Upon these two at all times lay the bane of discord, of sloth, and impotence of spirit, of voluptuousness and prodigality; and by their own vices both would doubtless perish, one through War, the other after Victory.’ Vespasian therefore and Mucianus postponed the taking up of arms openly, till occasion called them. For of late they had united in their counsels, by the means and mediation of Titus, as did every worthy man with both, from affection to the Commonwealth. Many were excited by the allurements of plunder, others by the desperate situation of their domestic affairs. Thus the good and the bad, from different instigations,

tions, but with equal passion, all thirsted vehemently for war.

About the same time Achaia and Asia were alarmed with a false apprehension, that Nero was certainly approaching. For, as concerning the manner of his death, several contradictory reports had been published, it was by many confidently feigned that he was still alive, and by many readily believed. In the sequel of this History I shall recount the attempts of other such counterfeits, and their fate. The present impostor was a slave from Pontus, or according to other authors, the son of a freedman out of Italy, well skilled in the harp and in song; marks which, added to a similitude of features, procured him the quicker credit and assent. With mighty promises he had gained a number of vagabonds, obliged by their wants to wander, and, accompanied by them, betook himself to sea, but by the violence of tempests was cast upon the isle of Cythnus. He there drew over certain soldiers, who were on their voyage from the east, such as refused he ordered to be slain, and plundering the merchants, armed all the most robust of their bondmen. He likewise tried by various artifices to corrupt the faith of Sisenna the Centurion, who was then proceeding with a compliment from the army in Syria to the soldiers of the Prætorian Guard, namely, that of their right hands presented in testimony of peace and concord: Insomuch that Sisenna, in great affright, and apprehending violence, secretly departed from the island, and fled. Hence the terror flew and spread, as there were many struck and pleased with the revival of a name of such renown, from their constant lust after public changes, and their constant distaste of the present situation.

This mighty rumour, while it grew daily louder and spread, was by a stroke of chance utterly dissipated. The government of the Provinces of Gala-

tia and Pamphilia had been by Galba conferred upon Calpurnius Asprenas, and to convey him thither two gallies from the fleet at Misenum were assigned. With these he was now arrived at the isle of Cythnus: Nor were there instruments wanting there to call the Captains of the gallies to attend Nero; for in his name they called them. When they came into his presence he assumed a sad air of affliction, and imploring their faith and aid, as of men who had been once his own, besought them to land him in Syria or Egypt. The Captains, who began to waver, or perhaps meant to deceive him, declared that they would discourse with their soldiers, and having brought the minds of all to his devotion, would return to him. To Asprenas, however, the whole transaction was faithfully recounted. By his persuasion the ship was assailed and taken, and that person, whoever he were, slain. His corps, remarkable for the singularity of his eyes and hair, and for features grim and terrible, was carried to Asia, and thence to Rome.

In Rome, a city so rent by the feuds of parties, and from the frequent change of Princes, become unstable between liberty and licentiousness, the transacting even of small affairs was attended with mighty heat and commotion. Vibius Crispus, who in wealth, in great talents, and in great authority, was to be numbered rather amongst men eminent than good, cited Annius Faustus to his trial at the Tribunal of the Senate: This was a Roman Knight, who in the reign of Nero had followed the profession of an accuser. Indeed, very lately, under the Government of Galba, the Senate had ordained that the cause of the accusers should be examined; an ordinance which was turned and explained into divers and contradictory meanings, and, just according to the condition of the person arraigned, proved impotent or valid, as he proved powerful or weak.

weak. Besides the dread of the decree, Crispus exerted all his might and influence to overwhelm the man who had been the accuser of his brother; and had already prevailed with a great part of the Senate to insist, that, without hearing him, and without admitting any defence to be made for him, he should be doomed to execution. With others, on the contrary, nothing argued so strongly for the person impleaded as the over great sway of the impleader. These therefore proposed, that time should be allowed, his crimes specified, and he, however odious and guilty, allowed the common privilege of Romans, that of being heard. This proposition forthwith prevailed, and the trial was for a few days deferred. In the conclusion Faustus suffered condemnation, yet not with such unanimous acquiescence of the city as by his pestilent course of life he had deserved; because they remembered to have seen Crispus himself engaged in the work of accusations, as a pleader of price. Nor were they disgusted with the vengeance inflicted upon the crime, but with the avenger.

In the mean time, the first motions of the war were propitious to Otho; for, in obedience to him as their Emperor, the armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia marched from thence. They consisted of four Legions. Of these two thousand men were dispatched forward: the body followed with moderate marches; namely, the seventh legion, which was enrolled by Galba; with the other three, all of antient standing, namely, the eleventh, the thirteenth, and the fourteenth; the last of signal reputation for their suppressing the revolt in Britain. Nero too had added notably to their glory in chusing them out as a body of men preferable to all others. Hence their persevering so long in faith and adherence to Nero, and hence their ardent zeal for the cause and person of Otho. But the more

numerous and strong they were, with the more confidence they were filled, and from such confidence advanced very slowly. The detachment of horse and foot arrived sooner than the main body of the Legions. From Rome itself there went a band of men no wise despicable, namely five Cohorts of the Prætorian Guards, certain troops of Cavalry, and the first Legion. Add to these two thousand gladiators, a reinforcement indeed sordid and dishonourable, yet used in times of civil War, even by Leaders who were severe in discipline. For Leader of these forces he appointed Annius Gallus, who, in conjunction with Vestricius Spurinna, was sent before to secure both the banks of the Po. For his first design had been frustrated; since Cæcina, whom he hoped to have shut up within the confines of Gaul, had already passed the Alps. There attended the person of Otho some chosen companies of the body-guard, the remainder of the Prætorian Cohorts, with such of the Prætorian bands as were under the privilege and standard of Veterans, and a vast number of Marines. Neither made he a lazy and effeminate march, or one deformed by any feats of voluptuousness, but wearing a corset of iron, marched before the Ensigns, or foot, undressed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame.

Fortune smiled upon these his attempts; since, from the advantage of the sea, and the power of his fleet, he was master of the greater part of Italy quite to the borders of the maritime Alps. To force a passage over these, and to conquer the Province of Narbon Gaul, was an enterprize which he committed to the conduct of Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacensis. But Pacensis was baffled and restrained by the licentiousness of a dissolute soldiery. Antonius Novellus held no credit or authority amongst them. Suedius Clemens

Clemens governed loosely, humouring and courting the men from private views of his own, and though in discipline and military restrictions, negligent and corrupt, yet greedy of encounters and combating. They seemed not to have arrived in any part of Italy, their native soil, or to be marching through the dwellings and families of their countrymen and nation. For, as if they had just landed upon a strange and hostile coast, and had been sacking the cities of mortal and declared foes, they burnt, plundered, and laid waste, without distinction; the more tragically, for that against barbarities no wife dreaded, no sort of means for defence were provided. Covered with grain and cattle were the fields, open and unguarded the houses; while the proprietors accompanied with their wives and children, went every where forth officiously to meet the host, and, from trusting to the security of peace, found themselves involved in all the horrors and calamities of war. Marius Maturus then governed the maritime Alps, in quality of Procurator. He having arrayed the power of the country, which wants not store of youth, attempted to repulse the forces of Otho from entering his province. But, upon the first shock, the inhabitants of the mountains were dissipated or slain; like men who being precipitately assembled and unacquainted with the duties of encampment or of command, were insensible of any honour from victory, or of any infamy from flying.

These forces of Otho's, furiously incensed by this opposition and combat, turned their rage upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. For in the late battle they found no prey to satiate them: The peasants were poor, and their arms wretched and mean; neither was it possible to take them prisoners, as they are naturally swift of foot, and acquainted with all places of refuge. But at last, by

bringing ruin and desolation upon these guiltless townsmen who had never provoked them, they glutted their avarice. The hate and horror of this their violence was greatly heightened by the glorious example and behaviour of a Ligurian woman. She had hid her son, and being by the soldiers suspected to have with him hid her money, while they questioned her upon the rack, where she had concealed him, she pointed to her belly, and replied, "he lay there." Neither could she, with all their cruelties successively tried, nor even by the agonies of death, be brought to vary from that answer of hers, so undaunted and praise-worthy.

To Fabius Valens news were sent in great hurry and alarm, that Otho's fleet were upon the coast of Narbon Gaul, a Province which had sworn fidelity to Vitellius, and were just upon the point of making a descent. He was likewise beset with Deputies from the colonies, imploring succours. Thither he therefore sent two Cohorts of Tungrians, four troops of horse, with the entire squadron of the Treverians, under the command of Julius Clasticus. Of these forces a detachment was retained in the Colony of Forojulium, lest, had the whole marched into the country, the fleet taking the advantage of an unguarded sea, should have been tempted to an immediate descent. Against the enemy there went twelve troops of horse, and a band of chosen men from the Cohorts. To these was joined a Cohort of Ligurians (the antient auxiliaries belonging to the place) and five hundred Pannonians not yet enrolled into companies. Nor was there any lingering in coming to battle; and in this manner they were formed. A detachment of marines with a number of peasants intermixed, were ranged upon the hills adjoining to the sea. Whatever level space remained between the hills and the shore, was covered with the soldiers of the

Præ-

Prætorian Guards. To support them in the sea itself, close by, the fleet was ranged, with a front terrible and menacing, turned full upon the foe, and ready to engage. The commanders of the Army of Vitellius, which was inferior in foot, and chiefly relied upon its strength of cavalry, placed their confederates of the Alps upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, and the Cohorts in thick ranks behind their front, which consisted of horse. From this disposition, the troops of Treverians advancing, charged the enemy with notable rashness, since they were encountered by the veteran soldiers, and sorely annoyed in the flank by volleys of stones from the hands of the peasants, a people dexterous at throwing; and being now interspersed amongst disciplined men, the coward and the brave proved equally daring in an hour of victory. To the discomfited there accrued fresh terror and peril from the Fleet, which had advanced and assailed them in the rear. They were thus surrounded every way, and doubtless the whole army had been slaughtered, had not the darkness of the night restrained the conquerors, and covered the flight of the vanquished.

The forces of Vitellius, though overcome, would not acquiesce. Having called in succours, they attacked the enemy while yet elated and secure, and abated in their vigilance by success. In this assault, the guards were already slain, the camp forced, and the consternation carried as far as the ships: when the sudden dread subsiding gradually, the disordered troops betook themselves to an adjoining hill, and having secured themselves by the advantage of the ascent, rushed resolutely down upon the assailants. Here ensued a mighty and terrible slaughter. The Captains of the Tungrian Cohorts, after they had for a great while sustained the battle, were at last overwhelmed by a shower of darts. Nor in truth to the Army of Otho did the victory prove otherwise

wife than bloody: indeed many of them, while they incautiously pursued, were cut off by the horse, suddenly wheeling upon the pursuers. And now both armies returned back, that of Vitellius to Antipolis, a municipal city in Narbon Gaul; that of Otho to Albingaunum, another municipal city in the inland country of Liguria; as if between both a truce had been settled by consent, that neither the Fleet on one hand, nor the cavalry on the other, should henceforth surprize each other by sudden enterprizes and the tumult of war.

Corfica and Sardinia, with the other islands in these seas, were by the renown of the victorious Fleet preserved under obedience to Otho. But upon Corfica destruction was well nigh brought by an attempt of Decimus Pacarius, who governed as Procurator there: an attempt altogether rash, such a one as in a war conducted by forces so mighty and many, could never avail towards casting the ballance, yet to himself proved fatal and sanguinary. For, from antipathy to Otho, he purposed with the arms of that people to assist Vitellius; an assistance impotent and fruitless, had he even succeeded. He called together the chief men of the island, and to them opened his scheme; nay, Claudius Phirricus, Commander of the Gallies there; and Quinctius Certus, a Roman Knight, were, for daring to oppose him, by his order slain. By the execution of these two all the rest of the assembly were sufficiently terrified: so that they first, and afterwards the unthinking multitude governed by their ignorance, or by adopting the fears of others, all swore allegiance to Vitellius. But as soon as Pacarius set himself to array them for war, and to vex with military duties men naturally wild and impatient of regularity and restraint, they conceived implacable aversion to fatigues never before felt, and began to recollect and discover the weakness of their country;

“ That

“ That the place inhabited by them was an Island,
“ and far remote from them lay Germany and the
“ forces of the Legions. Other nations too were
“ there, who even while under the protection of
“ Vitellius’s arms, his bodies of foot and squadrons
“ of horse, were yet invaded, plundered and laid
“ waste by the navy of Otho.” And in an instant, they meditated vengeance and a revolt, yet by no efforts of open violence, but by a silent conspiracy; and for accomplishing it, watched a proper opportunity. At a juncture therefore when the crowd, who, upon business or compliment, had attended Pacarius, were withdrawn, and he himself retired to his bath, there they slew him, naked and destitute of help or defence. They even butchered such acquaintance of his as they found about him. Their heads were, like those of public enemies, by the murderers themselves, carried to Otho. Yet neither were they by Otho distinguished with any recompence, nor by Vitellius doomed to any punishment; as, in the universal uproar of tumultuous times, they remained blended and undiscerned amongst many other instruments of iniquity still more heinous and crying.

The squadron of horse intitled Silana, had opened a way into Italy, and thither translated the war, as above I have recounted. Not that one soul there had any partiality to Otho, nor indeed that to the cause of Otho they preferred the cause of Vitellius: but by long peace and ease they were quite debased, seasoned for any bondage from any quarter, become the easy acquisition of the first possessor, and stupidly indifferent to a worthier choice. That Region of Italy, (of all others the most opulent and flourishing) which extends from the Po to the Alps, with all its cities and territories, was holden by the forces of Vitellius; for there too had already arrived the Cohorts which Cæcina had sent thither before him.

him. At Cremona a Cohort of Pannonians were made captives, and between Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horse were intercepted, as were also a thousand marines. After so much success these soldiers of Vitellius were no longer to be daunted and repulsed by such obstacles as rivers and their banks. The Batavians, in truth, and such as came from beyond the Rhine, found themselves but the more animated by beholding the Po, which they passed with great suddenness over against Placentia, and surprising certain scouts, filled all the rest with such dread, that under the impulse of tremor and deception, they carried tidings, that Cæcina approached with his whole army.

Spurinna (for he commanded in Placentia) was certain that Cæcina was not yet come, and if he really were advancing, was determined to confine his own men within the fortifications, nor to an army of Veterans expose three Prætorian Cohorts, a thousand auxiliaries, and a few horse. But his men, who were headstrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, snatching up the ensigns and standards, sallied out tumultuously, and against their own Commander, while he strove to restrain them, turned with menaces the points of their weapons. For they had with indignation rejected the exhortations of the Tribunes and Centurions, who extolled to them the wisdom and foresight of their Commander. Nay, they even asserted with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and Cæcina traiterously called in. In this mad proceeding of his soldiers Spurinna was made a partaker, at first indeed constrained to it by violence, anon feigning to chuse and approve it, in hopes thence to derive the more weight and authority to his counsels, whenever the sedition should abate.

When they had advanced within view of the Po, and night approached, it was judged necessary to
pitch

pitch and fortify their camp; a toil which was utterly new to the City-soldiers, and quite abated all their ferocity. Then it was that all they who were most grown in years condemned their own credulity, and displayed to others what matter of dread and danger must have befallen them, had Cæcina, with the power of a whole army, surrounded a few Cohorts in a country on all sides open. Presently all over the Camp, dutiful and submissive language was heard; and, as the Tribunes and Centurions had every where mixed themselves amongst the men, they all with one voice applauded the prudent care of their Commander, that, for the feat and bulwark of the war, he had chosen a colony so strong and opulent. At last Spurrinna himself accosted them, rather by reason reclaiming them, than upbraiding them with rashness and error; and having left certain scouts behind him, led back all the rest to Placentia, in a humour much less turbulent, and now submitting to receive orders. There the walls were forthwith strengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raised, and not only stores of arms secured, but duty found with alacrity to obey, the only thing wanting to that party, when in truth there was no defect of resolution and bravery.

Now Cæcina, as if beyond the Alps he had left all his cruelty, licentiousness and rapine, preserved in the march of his army through Italy great modesty and restriction. The gaiety of his own apparel indeed passed with the Colonies and Free Cities as a mark of arrogance; for that, dressed in a military mantle of divers colours, with a pair of drawers on, (a vestment peculiar to Barbarians) he was wont to entertain such as wore the Roman gown. They were, moreover, offended to see Salonina, his wife, mounted upon a beautiful horse, adorned with purple; as a mighty grievance to all, though by it no man was injured. Such is the spirit

rit by nature ingrafted in men, to behold with curious and malignant eyes the recent good fortune of others, and from none to exact a more severe degree of moderation in prosperity, than from such as they have seen no higher than themselves. Cæcina having passed the Po, and by many secret conferences and mighty promises laboured to corrupt the fidelity of the forces of Otho, found himself assailed by the same arts. So that, after many overtures made and returned about peace and concord, names exceeding specious in sound, but void of persuasion and effect, he applied all his devices and care to the siege of Placentia, which he meant to pursue with terrible efforts; for he was aware, that by the success attending the first attempts of the war, common fame would estimate all that were to follow.

The first day, however, passed rather in unguarded feats of violence, than in the wary motions and approaches of a Veteran Army. Headlong they advanced and assailed the walls, void of art or precaution, unprovided of shelter, and just gorged with victuals and wine. In this conflict the Amphitheatre, a building exceeding grand and fair, standing without the walls, was burnt down; perhaps set on flame by the besiegers, while against the besieged they hurled torches, shells, and the like discharges of missive fire; perhaps by the besieged themselves, whilst upon their enemies they poured the same destructive element. In Placentia the Populace, ever addicted to suspicion, believed that the fire was fed with fuel treacherously administered by emissaries from the neighbouring Colonies, instigated by a spirit of malignity and emulation, since in all the rest of Italy was not found an edifice so stately and capacious. From whatever cause the conflagration came, it was for the present lightly esteemed, while evils more terrible were impending. As soon as they found their danger over, and their
for-

former security returned, they then bewailed the loss of their Amphitheatre, as a calamity equally afflicting as any that they could possibly have suffered. For the rest; Cæcina and his forces were repulsed, with much blood and many lives lost; and all the night following was bestowed in preparations for the assault, and for the defence. On the part of the besiegers were provided moving penthouses, with other machines and instruments at once fit for battering the walls, and for protecting the assailants. They within the city furnished themselves with vast rafts of timber, quantities of huge stones, as also of massy brass and lead, to overwhelm the enemy, and crush all their works to pieces. On each side there prevailed a like fear of shame, on each a like passion for glory; and both were animated by different exhortations becoming different men. Here was extolled "the invincible strength of the Legions and German Army;" there, "the dignity of the Cohorts from Rome, and that of the Prætorian Bands." The Army without reproached the others, as "slothful and spiritless, corrupted and debased by the licentious amusements of the Theatre and Circus;" and were themselves by these reproached, as "aliens and strangers." And at the same time, while upon Otho and Vitellius they were heaping applause or contumely, they found more copious matter of infamy to animate them in the contest than matter of praise.

Scarce had the day dawned, ere the walls appeared covered with men for their defence. With arms and armed men the adjoining plains blazed. The Legions marched in battalions close and thick: the Auxiliaries advanced in separate bands, and with flights of arrows and stones aimed at the combatants upon the tops of the bulwarks. Where the fortifications were decayed, or not guarded, they attempted to force their way over them. From
above,

above, the opponents, with an aim more sure than that of their adversaries below, poured down showers of darts upon the German Cohorts, as they were adventuring rashly to the foot of the wall with shouts and chantings horrible to hear, their bodies naked after the custom of the country, and their bucklers brandished above their shoulders. The legionary soldiers, under the shelter of their machines, demolished the walls, raised a mound, and pressed vehemently against the gates. They on the contrary of the Prætorian Bands, having purposely disposed a great number of millstones, from place to place along the edge of the walls, now rolled them down, with dreadful force, rumbling and destruction. So that of the assailants, part that were scaling the wall, were crushed to death, part were pierced with darts; and thus with many slain outright, with many miserably gored, they retreated with the greater loss, for that the slaughter was heightened by their fury and confusion, and thence their wounds redoubled from the battlements. Upon the honour of their party they brought by this defeat notable discredit and diminution. Moreover Cæcina, struck with vexation and shame for having so precipitately attempted the siege, and resolved to abide no longer in the same camp, where only derision was to be reaped, and no advantage gained, repassed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. Upon his removal there revolted to him Turullius Cerialis with a great number of marines, and Julius Briganticus with a few horse; the latter a Batavian by nation, and Commander of a squadron of horse; the other a Centurion of principal rank, who having served in that character amongst the forces in Germany, was thence well affected to Cæcina.

Spurinna having learnt the removal and march of the enemy, transmitted an instant account to An-
nius

nus Gallus, that Placentia was saved, with the particulars of the siege, and whither tended the present motions of Cæcina. Gallus was then conducting the first Legion to succour Placentia, from his distrust of the ability of the few Cohorts there to sustain a siege of any length, and his apprehension of the great force of the German Army. As soon as he received information that Cæcina was repulsed, and proceeding to Cremona, such an ardour to encounter him seized the Legion, as drove them even to mutiny; so that Gallus had much difficulty to quell them, and bring them to rest at Bedriacum, a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and become now unhappily renowned by two signal slaughters suffered by the Romans there. About that time a battle was successfully fought by Martius Macer, not far from Cremona. For Macer, who possessed a spirit vigorous and bold, having embarked the Gladiators upon the Po, landed them with great suddenness on the opposite shore, where surprising and routing the auxiliary troops, which belonged to the forces of Vitellius, the rest fled to Cremona, and all who resisted were put to the sword. But the heat of the conquerors, earnest to pursue the slaughter, was repressed, lest the enemy strengthened by a succession of fresh succours, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this restraint great distrust arose among the suspicious soldiers of Otho, men who upon all the proceedings of their leaders, without distinction, put a malevolent construction. In proportion, as each particular was remarkable for baseness and cowardice of heart, and for petulance and sauciness of tongue, they set themselves to urge criminal imputations, various and many, against Annus Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus: for upon these likewise Otho had conferred command. But the incendiaries who proved the most fierce and implacable,
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were they who had murdered Galba. Restless and mad with guilt and dread, they strove to throw all things into combustion and uproar, sometimes by seditious speeches openly uttered, sometimes by letters conveyed secretly to Otho, who, lending a credulous ear to every the most abject instrument, and fearing all men of uprightness and honour, was thus held in distraction and alarms, always unsteady and wavering, when his affairs flourished, and ever mended by strokes of adversity. He therefore sent for Titanus his brother, and to him committed the rule and direction of the war.

Under the conduct of Paulinus and Celsus, the while, signal exploits were done. It afflicted the spirit of Cæcina to see all his enterprizes abortive, and the great renown of his army waining so fast. From Placentia he had lately been repulsed in person; his auxiliaries were more lately cut to pieces; even in the encounters between parties of scouts, a sort of fighting rather frequent than important, he found himself overmatched and inferior. And lest upon Fabius Valens, who was now advancing, the whole glory of the war should rest, he hurried, with more impatience than circumspection, to retrieve his honour. Twelve miles distant from Cremona, at a place named Castores, he secretly conveyed all the bravest of his auxiliaries into the woods which lie just above the great road. The horse were commanded to march further on, and after having engaged the enemy in a warm fray, then to betake themselves to a voluntary flight, and to humour the pursuit till the hasty pursuers might be opportunely beset by the forces in ambush rising upon them at once. This scheme was betrayed to the Generals of Otho's army, where Paulinus took the command of the foot, Celsus that of the horse. On the left were ranged the detached troops of the thirteenth Legion, four Cohorts of auxiliaries, and
five

five hundred horse. The great road was held by three Cohorts, in close ranks. Upon the right front marched the first Legion, with two auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides all these, there were led a thousand horse detached from the auxiliaries and Prætorian Guards; a body indeed superfluous, if the rest proved victorious, or a body of succours, if distressed.

Before the two armies had joined in close combat, that of Vitellius turned their backs; but Celsus, who was aware of the artifice, withheld his men from pursuing. The forces of Vitellius concealed in the wood, issuing thence overhastily, were by the management of Celsus, who retired insensibly before them, decoyed so far in pursuing him, till they themselves were at once plunged into snares on every side. For, on both their flanks they were attacked by the Cohorts of the Legions, and the horse, suddenly wheeling, begirt them in the rear. Yet Suetonius Paulinus gave not instantly the signal of battle to the infantry; as he was a man by nature wary and slow, better pleased with deliberate counsels supported by reason, than with prosperous adventures resulting from chance. He ordered the ditches to be filled, the grounds to be cleared, and his front to be extended; since he judged that the time to conquer would then follow abundantly soon, when sufficient precautions were first taken against all danger of being conquered. By this delay, leisure was given to the forces of Vitellius to shelter themselves among the vineyards, places intricate and hard of entrance through the interweaving and obstruction of the branches. To the vineyards there adjoined a small wood, from which they ventured to sally, and slew the most forward and resolute of the Prætorian horse. Here King Epiphanes was wounded, while for the cause of Otho he by his
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own example animated the fight with great bravery.

Now, Otho's infantry advanced to the attack. The gros of the enemy's army was utterly routed, and all the parties who moved to their assistance, were forced to fly. For Cæcina had not called in the Cohorts to sustain him in a body, but one after another: a circumstance which greatly heightened their consternation in the battle; since supplies which thus approached piece-meal, and never competently strong, were struck and hurried away by the affright of such as fled. In their camp too they made an insurrection, for that they had not been all led forth against the foe. Forthwith they committed to bonds Julius Gratus, the Camp Marshal, upon a charge, 'as if he betrayed them by secret intelligence with his brother, who bore arms for Otho;' when at the same time the soldiers of Otho's army had already imprisoned that brother of his, Julius Fronto, under an imputation of that very crime. For the rest, the distraction and dread which every where possessed the vanquished, not only those who fled, but those who met them in their flight, not only in the field of battle, but in the camp, were then so apparent and prevailing, as to create a report current amongst both parties, 'That had not Paulinus founded a retreat, Cæcina and his whole army might have been destroyed.' For himself Paulinus alleged, 'That he feared the great fatigue further to have been undergone, with so much more way necessary to have been passed, and the advantage given to the forces of Vitellius, fresh as they were from their camp, to have fallen upon his, just tired with marching, and destitute of succour or refuge, had they suffered a defeat.' Some few there were who approved this reasoning of the General. With the commonalty it passed under severer censures.

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This loss and disgrace sustained by the army of Vitellius served rather to reform them into duty and moderation, than to inspire them with dismay. Not only in the camp of Cæcina, who threw the whole fault upon the men ‘as more prone to mutiny than to fight;’ but also among the Forces of Fabius Valens, who was already arrived at Ticinum, it was found that the soldiers having quitted their late contempt for the enemy, and conceived a passion for retrieving their late fame, were now come to obey their general with much greater reverence and submission. For in the army led by Valens some time before, there had raged a furious insurrection, which I shall now deduce from the beginning farther back, since it behoved me not to interrupt the detail of the transactions of Cæcina. The Batavian Cohorts, the same who, in the war between Nero and Vindex, were withdrawn from the fourteenth Legion to return to Britain, upon hearing in the capital of the Gauls called Lingones, that Vitellius was in arms, had there joined themselves to Fabius Valens, as above I have related. They thence grew haughty and turbulent, and, as often as they passed through the quarter of any of the Legions whatsoever, they boasted in the tents of the soldiery, That by themselves those of the ‘fourteenth had been forced into the Party, by themselves Italy had been rent from Nero, and that in their own hands they held the issue and fortune of the war.’ A heavy reproach to the soldiers, a bitter insult upon the General, a fore blow to discipline, thus corrupted and relaxed, by daily strife and debates. Valens at last, from such insolent speeches, grew to apprehend treasonable purposes. He had news brought him, ‘That the maritime forces of Otho had defeated the squadron of Treverian horse with the body of Tungrians, and beset the coasts of Narbon Gaul.’

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He therefore, as well through a concern for protecting his confederates, as by a military device to separate these Cohorts so very mutinous, and, when united together, so very powerful, ordered one part of the Batavians to march for the succour of the Province. As soon as this order was divulged, the auxiliaries began to lament, the Legions to storm, that, ' they were bereft of the aid of men so signal-
' ly valiant. If to the city of Rome, if to the wel-
' fare and existence of the Empire, that one Pro-
' vince were preferable, they ought all to follow
' thither. But, if in Italy only could be obtained
' a victory perfectly decisive and salutary; if there
' alone were to be sought the grand pillar and stay
' of the whole; then from Italy these Batavians
' were by no means to be thus rent, like the most
' vigorous limbs from the body.' During these strains of sedition vented in great wrath and defiance, when Valens attempted to quell the uproar by sending in his Liçtors amongst them, upon Valens himself they fell, assailed him with stones, and pursued him as he fled. ' The spoils, they fiercely
' cried; the spoils of all the Gauls, the gold of the
' Viennese, with the price and acquisitions of all
' their own fatigues, were by him treasured up in
' secret;' then plundered his coffers, searched his pavilion, (the pavilion of their General!) and, with their lances and pointed poles, probed and examined the very ground whereon it stood. For Valens himself lay concealed under the habit of a slave in the tents of a Captain of horse. By this time Alphenus Varus, Camp Marshal, perceiving that the rage of the tumult was gradually cooling, to extinguish it quite had recourse to a stratagem, by forbidding the Centurions to set the watch or to visit the guard, and by forbearing all sound of trumpet, such as calls the men to the duties of the army and of war. Hence they were to a man struck with
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astonishment, like men insensible: They gazed round upon each other with wild wonder and dismay, and dreading this very thing that no one appeared to direct and rule them, they betook themselves to humble silence, to patience and resignation, and in the end to open supplications and tears for mercy and pardon. But as soon as Valens came forth, his eyes full of tears, his person miserably apparelled, and, beyond all hope, alive and unhurt, there broke out a torrent of joy, of commiseration, and of fondness. What followed was a universal change into gladness and transport, (as in all their passions, however opposite, the multitude know no bounds) and with shouts of applause and congratulations, in the midst of the Eagles and Standards displayed, they bore him to the Tribunal. He there manifested a moderation altogether wholesome and serviceable, nor required the execution of any particular whomsoever. Yet, lest by dissembling all knowledge of the guilty, his sincerity might be but more suspected, he rebuked a few by name, as he was well apprized, that during all civil wars, much greater power may be assumed by the soldiers than by their Leaders.

Whilst they were yet fortifying their camp at Ticinum, news arrived of Cæcina's disastrous engagement, and thence the sedition was well nigh revived, for that Valens, they alledged, had, through premeditated treachery and feigned delays, detained them from assisting at that battle. Forthwith they declared against all further repose, refused to stay for their General, hurried away even before the Standards, pressed forward such as bore them, and continued their march with rapidity till they had joined Cæcina. With the army of Cæcina, Valens bore but an ungracious character. They complained, that they who in numbers were so much inferior had been exposed to the united host of the

enemy; a complaint which implied an excuse for their own ill success, and at the same time served to flatter the new-comers by extolling their mighty strength; with strength, that by the new-comers they might not be scorned as a body cowardly and routed. In truth, although to Valens there appertained much greater forces, nay, almost double the number of Legions and Auxiliaries, yet the affections of the soldiers leaned to Cæcina. Besides his benignity of spirit, in which he was reckoned to excel the other, they were attracted by the bloom and vigour of his age, by his person graceful and tall, and even by other motives to favour, altogether unmeaning and mean. Hence an emulation between the two chiefs. Cæcina derided Valens as one immersed in crimes and black with infamy, and Valens him as a man vain and pompous. Yet smothering their hate, they concurred in consulting the utility of the same cause, and in frequent letters of theirs boldly upbraided Otho with his guilt and villainess, without all reserve or view of pardon. Whereas the Commanders in Otho's party forbore treating Vitellius with any invectives and bitter words, though for such treatment abundant matter was administered.

The truth is, before they came to suffer their last fate, a fate to which Otho gained immortal fame, to Vitellius most glaring infamy, much less dreaded were the gross appetites and stupidity of Vitellius, than the abandoned spirit and flaming passions of Otho. The latter was by the murder of Galba rendered still more terrible and detested; the former, on the contrary, was by no man charged with having begun the war. In gluttony and banquetting Vitellius was an enemy to himself. In profusion, cruelty, and daring iniquities, Otho was accounted more threatening and pernicious to the Commonwealth. Upon the conjunction of the forces
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of Valens with those of Cæcina, from the partizans of Vitellius no longer delay or obstruction remained against proceeding to a decisive battle. Otho had recourse to a consultation, whether it were deemed adviseable to protract the war, or to risque the fortune of a battle. Upon this occasion, Suetonius Paulinus judged that a discourse concerning the whole state of the war, would become his own great name for military prowess, in which no General of those times was thought to surpass him. He therefore argued, ‘ That to the enemy haste and present action were advantageous; but to themselves procrastination and delay. The entire army of Vitellius was now arrived; nor were there any considerable remaining forces to follow after, since the countries of Gaul were still angry and distressed; and it would be ill policy to divest the bank of the Rhine of its guards, and expose it to nations so implacable, and just ready for an irruption. The soldiers in Britain were withheld by enemies and seas. Spain was far from abounding in armed men. The province of Narbon Gaul was sufficiently terrified by their defeat, and by the insults and hostilities from the fleet. The region of Italy beyond the Po was enclosed by the Alps, destitute of help from the sea, and even by the passing of the army exhausted and spoiled. No where to be found was any grain for the army, nor without plentiful supplies could an army be maintained. Moreover, were the war protracted till the summer, the Germans, of all the enemy’s forces the most formidable, would never endure an exchange so extreme of country and climate, with bodies like theirs loose and languid. Many were the instances of enemies, who in a sudden effort proved potent and prevailing; yet were so wearied and wasted with delays, as utterly to vanish with all their terrors. To themselves, on

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‘ the contrary, there continued all things in abundance, and countries faithfully attached, Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East, with their several armies still intire; Italy, and Rome itself, the head and centre of the Empire; the Senate and Roman people, names at no time obscure, though sometimes overcast with clouds; public and private abundance, and infinite treasure, more prevalent than the sword in all civil dissentions; the bodies of the soldiers either inured to the clime of Italy, or to climes signally hot. In their front lay the river Po; their cities were secure in the strength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was sufficiently learnt from the brave defence of Placentia. Upon these considerations he would do well to protract the war. In a few days would arrive the fourteenth Legion, mighty in renown, and with it the forces of Mœsia. He might then resume the present deliberation, and if fighting were preferred, they should engage with numbers augmented.’

With the counsel of Paulinus, Marius Celsus concurred; and that Annius Gallus entertained the same sentiments, was reported by those who had been purposely sent to learn his advice: for, his horse having fallen with him a few days before, he was still ill of the hurt. Otho was bent upon engaging. Titianus his brother, and Proculus, Captain of the Prætorian guards, hurried headlong by rashness and inexperience, were always averring, ‘ That fortune and the Gods, and the Deity of Otho, all attending upon his counsels, would also upon his enterprizes.’ To such sycophancy they had purposely betaken themselves, that no man might dare to thwart their opinion. After it was determined to fight, a doubt occurred, whether it were more advisable that the Emperor should be present
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in the encounter, or remove elsewhere. Paulinus and Celsus, that they might not seem to advise exposing the person of the Prince to perils, had now dropped all opposition. So that those same men from whom the worst counsel had come, obliged him to retire to Brixellum, where, secure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he should reserve himself, they said, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of Sovereignty. This was the first day that a fatal blow was given to the party of Otho. For, besides his own departure, with him there not only departed a very brave and powerful band, consisting of Prætorian Cohorts, of troops of horse, and of the body-guard; but the forces remaining lost all courage, since they suspected the fidelity of their Leaders; and Otho, upon whom only the soldiers placed all their faith, as, in truth, in none else but soldiers did he himself repose any trust, had left the command of the Generals uncertain and precarious.

Of all these transactions not one was a secret to the army of Vitellius, as deserters were perpetually passing to and fro, a thing usual in a civil war: And the spies, from a keenness to learn the measures of the opposite side, did not well conceal those of their own. Cæcina and Valens, without moving themselves, were intent upon the disastrous motions of the enemy, so precipitate and void of foresight, and coolly awaited their own advantage from the folly of others; a course supplying the place of contrivance. So that feigning a design to pass the Po, in order to attack the band of Gladiators on the opposite shore, they began to make a bridge, an undertaking which also served to keep their own men the while from a habit of idleness and sloth. Upon the river a row of boats was placed, at equal distances, connected by large beams, and by their anchors steadily secured against the weight of the

stream, but with cables unstretched and floating, that when the flood swelled, the whole rank of boats might be lifted without violence to their order. A tower purposely reared, and beginning from the furthestmost boat, closed and guarded the bridge, that from thence with their warlike machines they might batter and repulse the foe.

The soldiers of Otho too had erected a tower, from whence they were pouring volleys of stones and fire. Moreover in the middle of the river stood an island, into which the Gladiators strove to convey themselves in pinnaces, but were prevented by the Germans who reached it first by swimming. As of these a large number had already passed over, Macer, who had now filled the pinnaces with the bravest Gladiators, sailed thither to attack them. But neither in the Gladiators was there found bravery or perseverance equal to those of the soldiers; nor could they in a reeling posture from their vessels strike with such certainty and force as did the others from their firm footing on the shore. And when by the many different motions and shiftings of men actuated by consternation and dread, they who fought became mingled with those who rowed, and all were disordered, the Germans leaping into the water boldly seized the vessels, and by climbing boarded them, or by strength sunk them. All which transactions passed under the eye of both armies. Hence the more joy they administered to the partizans of Vitellius, with the more bitterness and detestation they inspired the followers of Otho against the author and cause of their sore disaster.

The truth is, the fray was parted by flight, the remaining boats having been in great haste dragged back against. Macer was required to the slaughter: nay, he was already wounded with a lance darted at him, and already they had assaulted him with their swords drawn, when by the sudden interposition

sition and succour of the Tribunes and Centurions, he was rescued. Ere long, Vestricius Spurinna, by the command of Otho, leaving a small garrison in Placentia, arrived with a supply of Cohorts: and soon after Flavius Sabinus, Consul elect, was by Otho sent to take charge of the forces which had been under the command of Macer, to the great joy of the soldiers, pleased with the change of Leaders; whilst the Leaders, scared by their perpetual mutinies, abhorred the charge of a soldiery so mischievous and unruly.

In some authors I find, ' that though the shocking apprehensions of war, or from an aversion and disgust to both Princes, two men whose infamous and detestable crimes were by the voice of common fame grown daily more public and glaring, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity and strife, and whether amongst themselves they should agree to set up a proper Emperor, or refer the choice to the Senate. That hence the Generals of Otho's forces had declared for delays and procrastination, Paulinus particularly, who considered himself as the most antient Consular, as one signally renowned in war, and one who, by exploits in Britain, had acquired much glory and a great name.' For myself; as I would allow, that there were a few, in whose breast cordial wishes, but wishes smothered in silence, were entertained for public tranquility, instead of civil uproar and dissention, and for a Prince worthy and innocent in the place of two, of all men the worst and most bloated with vileness and iniquities; so neither can I conceive that Paulinus, a man governed by such prudence, could have hoped, in an age abandoned to corruption, to have found so mighty a degree of moderation in the common herd, that the very same men, who from a passion for war had violated public peace, would out of

tenderneſs for peace relinquish the war. Nor can I conceive, that armies, in languages and manners ſo diſſonant, could ever have been brought to concur in this act of unanimity; or that the Lieutenant Generals and Leaders, men for the moſt part wallowing in prodigality, preſſed by indigence, and under the guilt and horrors of enormities black and manifold, would have ſuffered any Prince over them other than one contaminated with crimes, and engaged to them for their wicked ſervices done.

The luſt of dominion, ſo ancient and now long ſince rooted in the hearts of men, increaſed with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burſt forth with violence. For whiſt the condition of our City was but low, an equality amongſt her citizens was eaſily maintained. But when once the world was ſubdued, when all competitors for power, whether the ſame were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquiſhed and overthrown, and leiſure was given to purſue riches with ſecurity; then fiſt between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled. Sometimes ſeditious Tribunes inſulted; anon the power of the Conſuls prevailed; and within the City, nay, in the forum, were ſeen the preludes and approaches to a civil war. In a ſhort ſpace Caius Marius, ſprung from the lees of the Populace, and Lucius Sylla, a man the moſt cruel of all the nobility, having oppreſſed public liberty by the violence of arms, changed it into lawleſs domination. Then followed Pompey, more cloſe and diſguiſed, not more innocent or upright. From thence-forward the only public ſtruggle was for ſovereign rule. In Pharfalia and Philippi the Legions, though compoſed of Roman citizens, departed not from their violence and arms: Much leſs likelihood was there, that the armies of Otho and Vitellius would of their own accord have abandoned the war. Theſe armies too were by the ſame
wrath

wrath of the Deities, by the same rage amongst men, by the same motives of wickedness and outrage driven into discord and war. That the wars were each of them brought to a conclusion, as it were by so many single strokes, proceeded from the genius of the Princes, impotent and spiritless. But in recollecting the disposition of different times ancient and new, I have digressed rather too far. I now resume the order of transactions.

After the departure of Otho to Brixellum, the name and honour of Generalship remained with his brother Titianus, the essence and authority with Proculus. For Celsus and Paulinus; as no one had recourse to their counsel and capacity, they bore the empty title of Commanders, and thence served as cloaks for the faults and mistakes of other men. The Tribunes and Centurions were agitated by perplexity and fear, to see men of sufficiency and superior worth neglected, and the very worst men bear sway. The common soldiers were chearful and elated, yet disposed rather to canvass and interpret, than to obey and execute the orders of their Commanders. It was now determined to move their quarters, and to encamp within four miles of Bedriacum; a march so unskilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely distressed for want of water, though it was then in the spring of the year, and there were rivers on all hands. Here was debated the question about proceeding to battle, as Otho was by importunate letters pressing them to a speedy decision, whilst the soldiers insisted to have their Emperor in person at the engagement. Several urged for calling over the forces quartered beyond the Po. Neither can it be so readily decided what was the best course which they could have taken, as that it was certainly the worst which they took. For,

In no sort like men going directly to the encounter, but like men only proceeding to war, they ad-

vanced towards the confluence of the river Po and Addua; a journey of sixteen miles, and utterly disapproved by Celsus and Paulinus, who declared against, 'exposing the soldiers, fatigued with travelling, and loaded with baggage, to an unequal enemy, who being himself light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce four miles, would never lose the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were separated and entrenching their camp.' Titianus and Proculus, whenever they were vanquished in counsel and reasoning, had always, as now, recourse to the prerogative of power. It must be owned there had arrived a Numidian, dispatched by Otho upon a swift horse, with orders conceived in a strain very terrible and bitter: In these, having first reprimanded the Generals for their faint proceedings and want of spirit, he gave command, to commit the cause to immediate trial by the sword; for he was sick with anguish, from delay, and impatient of uncertain hopes.

To Cæcina, the same day, as he was still intent upon the structure of the bridge, there came two Tribunes of the Prætorian guards, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures, and to return answers, when the scouts in vehement haste, apprized him that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the Tribunes was thus interrupted, and hence it remained uncertain what they meant to have attempted, whether to betray their party, or to contrive a plot against the enemy, or whether they had some design truly worthy and honest. Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes and returned to the camp, found the signal of battle already given by Valens and the soldiers under arms.

Whilst the Legions were by the casting of lots ascertaining the order of their proceeding to battle,
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the cavalry fallied forth by themselves, and, which is wonderful to relate, were by a party of Otho's forces, in number much inferior, repulsed, nay flying for shelter to their ramparts, till by the vigour and menaces of the Italic Legion they were stopped. That brave Legion opposed them with drawn swords, and forced them back to the encounter. The Legions of Vitellius were embattled without any consternation or alarm; for, all sight of an armed host was prevented by a thick coppice, though the enemy was close by. In the army of Otho, fearful and disconcerted were the Generals; against the Generals the soldiers were incensed; mixt and crowded amongst the ranks were the carriages and retainers to the camp, and from a deep ditch on each hand the way was too streight even for an army marching safe from an enemy. Some stood round their standards, others enquired where to find their own. On every side was heard the uncertain clamour of men running and roaming different and uncertain ways. Some thrust themselves into the front, some retired to the rear, just as each found himself prompted by bravery or by dread.

Their minds, yet struck and astonished with sudden terror, were quite cooled and enfeebled by an accession of false joy; as amongst them there were some found who divulged a fiction, that the army had revolted from Vitellius. Whether this report was spread by the spies of Vitellius, or came from the partizans of Otho, and sprung from chance or fraud, remains undiscovered. By it the forces of Otho were bereft of all ardour for battle, nay, accosted the enemy with the salutation of friends: And as they were received with a hostile and threatening murmur, hence many of their own army, unapprized of the cause of such greeting, were seized with apprehensions that they were betrayed. At the same time, the enemy's host fell on and pressed them
hard,

hard, with ranks unbroken, and in strength and numbers superior. That of Otho, though disjointed, though fewer and fatigued, yet sustained the fight with notable vigour; and various was the face of the combat, like that of the place, which was embarrassed with trees and vineyards. Here they encountered hand to hand, there at a distance by weapons missive; in this place with their lines extended; in that by battalions sharp in the front. Upon the raised road they closed fiercely, battered each other with their bodies and bucklers, and, rejecting the use of darts, with swords and axes hewed and broke helmets and breast-plates. To each other the combatants were well known, their efforts were conspicuous to all the rest, and on both sides they exerted all their might to determine the last fortune of the war.

In an open plain between the Po and the highway, two Legions chanced to encounter; the one and twentieth intitled Rapax, signal for feats of renown anciently achieved, in behalf of Vitellius. For Otho engaged the first called Adjutrix, one never till then led into the field, but fierce and resolute, eager for the first earnings of glory. The soldiers of the first having routed the foremost ranks of the one and twentieth, carried off their Eagle; a disgrace which so enraged this Legion, that they too in their turn repulsed and broke those of the first, and having killed Orphidius Benignus their Commander, despoiled them of many ensigns and banners. In another quarter, those of the thirteenth Legion were defeated, by an onset from the fifth; those of the fourteenth were quite invironed by a numerous host of foes. And Cæcina and Valens were still strengthening their battle with continual reinforcements, when Otho's Generals were long since fled. To the former a fresh recruit had arrived of the Batavians led by Alphenus Varus, after
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he had utterly routed the body of Gladiators, who, whilst they passed over in boats, were by the Cohorts posted to oppose them slaughtered in the very river. So that these troops, already victorious, assailed the enemy in the flank; and their centre being thus utterly broken, the forces of Otho betook themselves every where to flight, bending their course towards Bedriacum: A mighty space to run: The ways too were filled and obstructed by the carcases of the slain, and hence occasion administered for increasing the slaughter: for in civil war captives are not converted into sale and gain.

Suetonius Paulinus, and Licinus Proculus took different routes, both shunning that to the camp. Vedius Aquila, Commander of the thirteenth Legion, whilst he was animated by dread void of discretion, became exposed to the fury of the soldiery. While it was yet broad day, he entered the camp, and was instantly beset and outraged by the insults and clamours of such as were prompt to mutiny against their officers, and to run away from their enemies. Towards him they spared no violent invectives, nor even violent hands. They charged him as a traitor to his cause, and as a fugitive from battle; not that he had really committed any crime; but such is the custom of the crowd, for every man to cast upon others his own guilt and disgrace. Titianus and Celsus drew their security from the night, since ere they came, the guards were already posted, and the tumults of the soldiery repressed. Annius Gallus had softened and reclaimed them by his intreaties, by his authority and wholesome reasoning, 'That they would not add to the heavy disaster of
' a battle lost, by intestine rage and the slaughter
' of one another. That the only remaining consolation and remedy after their defeat was, that
' of concord and unanimity amongst themselves,
' whether the war were now at an end, or whether
' ther

‘ther they rather chose to try again the fortune of
‘the field.’ Of the generality the courage was utterly
funk; only those of the Prætorian Guards boasted,
‘That they had been no otherwise overcome
‘than by acts of treachery, and by no superior bravery
‘of the enemy. Nor could the army of Vitellius, in truth,
‘boast of an unbloody victory, since their cavalry had been
‘routed, and the Eagle of a Legion bravely forced from them.
‘Their own forces beyond the Po still remained intire, and
‘with them Otho in person. The Legions from Mœsia
‘were advancing; and a great part of the army had continued
‘at Bedriacum. These, surely, were not yet vanquished;
‘or if that must be their lot, more to their glory it would
‘prove to die fighting.’ Struggling with such considerations
as these, they were variously transported, now to fury, anon
to dread: Yet from their present plight, altogether desperate
and forlorn, they found themselves more frequently excited
to rage than to fear.

Within five miles of Bedriacum the army of Vitellius
rested, for the Generals durst not, upon the same day,
venture to force the enemy’s camp. They moreover entertained
hopes of a voluntary surrender. For themselves; as they
had only gone forth accoutred for battle, and unincumbered
with baggage, they had no other bulwarks than their arms
and victory. On the day following it was apparent what
a pacific disposition reigned in Otho’s army, where even
they, who had been most fierce and untractable, were
lapsing into acquiescence and remorse. From their camp
therefore deputies were dispatched. Nor from the Generals
of Vitellius was the least hesitation found against the
overtures of peace. But as the deputies were for some
short time detained with them, from thence arose matter
of doubt and deliberation amongst those who sent them,
as yet unapprized whether their proposals were

were accepted. But anon, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then it was that both armies meeting, the conquerors as well as the conquered burst into tears, and at once pleased and sorrowing, uttered their detestations of the sad lot of intestine wars. Assembling now without distinction in the same tents, they tenderly tended and dressed the wounds one of another, some those of their brethren, some those of their friends. Doubtful were the hopes of all, uncertain their recompences, their only sure perquisites were death and woe. Nor was any particular so exempt from affliction as not to have some dead friend to bewail. For the body of Orphidius the Legate, search was made, and it was burned with the accustomed solemnity. A few were buried by their relations. The rest of the common men were buried above the ground.

Otho the while waited for an account of the battle, altogether undismayed, and fixt in his purposes. The first rumours were melancholy but uncertain, till the fugitives from the combat made known the utter defeat. Such now was the zeal and ardour of the soldiers about him, that they staid not for what their Emperor would say: They pressed him, 'to preserve his spirit undaunted. There remained still fresh forces; and for themselves, they were ready to dare all dangers, to suffer all extremities.' Neither was there flattery or deceit in what they said. Like men enchanted with supernatural impulse and fury, they burned with passion to proceed to battle, to awaken and animate the fortune of their party. They who stood at a distance signified their ardour by extending their hands; they who were nearest embraced his knees; and keenest of all was Plotius Firmus. This was Captain of his guards, and by repeated instances besought him, 'not to abandon an army so faithful and zealous, soldiers

‘ soldiers so singularly affectionate and deserving.
‘ In bearing the blows of calamity, more greatness
‘ of spirit was shewn than in flying from them.
‘ To support themselves with hope even in spight of
‘ fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous
‘ and brave ; as it was that of the timorous and
‘ spiritless to be drawn headlong by Cowardice into
‘ despair.’ As during these expressions the countenance of Otho happened to unbend or contract, in token of assent or refusal, there followed shouts of joy, or heavy groans. Nor was this spirit restrained to the Prætorian soldiers only, who, as his guards, were attached to the person of Otho ; but those who had been sent before the rest out of Mœsia, declared, that in the approaching army the same steady and invincible perseverance in his cause was to be found ; and that the Legions had already entered Aquileia. Hence none can doubt but that a war might have been renewed terrible and tragical, and its issue altogether uncertain to the conquerors and the conquered. He himself had quite renounced all purposes of war, and said,

‘ To expose wantonly to fresh perils such virtue
‘ and so much fortitude, is a price which I deem
‘ too high for the redeeming of my own life. The
‘ higher the hopes are with which you present me,
‘ were it my choice to live and enjoy them, the more
‘ amiable and esteemed will be my voluntary death.
‘ I have made trial of Fortune, as has fortune of
‘ me ; nor does it avail to compute how short a space
‘ such trial has lasted, since the greater is the difficulty to possess with moderation that felicity which
‘ you do not expect to possess long. Vitellius began
‘ the civil war, and thence sprang the source of our
‘ struggling for the empire by arms. To me will
‘ be owing the example of struggling for it no more
‘ than once. By this rule let posterity judge of
‘ Otho. Vitellius shall again possess in safety his
‘ brother,

‘ brother, his children, and his wife. By me no
‘ revenge is fought, neither do I need solacements.
‘ Others have held the sovereignty longer ; in a man-
‘ ner so magnanimous none ever yet relinquished it.
‘ Shall I ever bear that such a number of Roman
‘ youth, that so many noble armies be again cut off
‘ and ravished for ever from the Commonwealth?
‘ With me let me carry this sentiment and assurance,
‘ that on my behalf you were all ready to perish. But
‘ be content to survive me : Nor let us long retard
‘ one another. Let not me delay your care of your
‘ own preservation, nor you me in the pursuit
‘ of a design never to be shaken or changed. To
‘ multiply words about the subject of dying, is the
‘ part of a dastardly spirit. How much I am un-
‘ daunted in this my purpose, I desire you to take
‘ this signal proof, that I complain of no man :
‘ Since to be arraigning the Gods or men, upon
‘ the approach of death, belongs only to one who
‘ wishes for life.’

After this discourse, he desired them to speed away, nor by delaying enrage the conqueror. The young men he pressed with authority, the old by entreaties, addressing himself to all with singular sweetness and courtesy, in language suitable to their different years or dignity. Calm and easy were his looks, his speech flowing and assured, and he even applied himself to chide, as ill-judged and unreasonable, the tears and wailings of his friends. To such as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. All such memorials and letters as were signal for strains of zeal towards himself, or for bitterness and invectives against Vitellius, he committed to the flames. He distributed money, yet with discretion and a sparing hand, no wise like one about to relinquish life. Anon perceiving his brother’s son Salvius Cocceianus, one just in the bloom of youth, under the agonies of dread

dread and sorrow, he set about relieving him by consolatory expressions, extolled his tenderness, but rebuked his care. ' Could Vitellius, he said, prove
' of a spirit so implacable and unrelenting, as in recompence for his whole house preserved in safety,
' to refuse a return of mercy in this single instance?
' The clemency of the Conqueror was in truth no
' more than what he had purchased by thus hastening to die : since pressed by no desperate distress,
' but at a juncture when his army were craving
' to be led to battle, he had, only for the sake of
' the Commonwealth, foregone the trial of a last
' effort. To himself he had acquired abundant
' name, to his posterity abundant lustre. It was he
' who first had translated the sovereignty into a house
' newly raised, after the same had been vested in families so illustrious, even the Julian, and Claudian, and the Servian. Cocceianus should therefore with a spirit undaunted resolve to live. That
' Otho had been his uncle he must never forget,
' neither overmuch remember.'

After this, causing all who were about him to retire, he reposed himself a while. As he was thus exercising his thoughts about his last moments, a sudden tumult interrupted him ; for notice was carried him of the uproar and violence among the soldiery, who threatened with present slaughter all who were about to depart, but against Verginius particularly aimed their fiercest vengeance, and even besieged his house, which for his security he had shut up. Otho, having reprimanded the authors of the insurrection, gave time for audience to such as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect security. Towards the close of the day he allayed his thirst with a draught of cold water. Then calling for two poy-nards, and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed one under his head. He next took
care

care to be fully assured that all his friends were already on their way, afterwards passed the night in perfect repose, and, as is affirmed, not without sleep. At the first dawn he fell with his breast upon the point of the steel. Upon hearing his dying groans, his freedmen entered, as did his slaves, with Plotius Firmus Captain of his guards; and found no more than one wound. His funeral was dispatched with great expedition: Such had been his own desire, often repeated with earnest suit, to prevent his head from being cut off and exposed to publick derision. The Prætorian cohorts bore his corps with many praises and many tears, kissing his wound, and kissing his hands. At his funeral pile some of the soldiers slew themselves, for no guilt which they had incurred, nor for any dread which they entertained, but purely to emulate the glory of his end, and from their fondness to the person of their Prince. Amongst them afterwards, at Bedriacum, at Placentia, and in other their quarters, this kind of death became frequent. For Otho a sepulchre was raised, of mean structure, and thence like to remain.

Such was the issue of his life, in the thirty seventh year of his age. From the municipal city of Terentium he derived his original. His father had sustained the dignity of Consul, his grandfather that of Prætor. His mother's line was not of equal lustre, yet far from sordid. How he passed his tender years and how his youth, we have before shewn. By two signal feats of his, one crying and horrid, the other exemplary and noble, he has meritted from posterity a mighty portion of evil fame, nor less of good. As unworthy the gravity of this my subject I should hold it, to collect fabulous stories, and to amuse with fictions the minds of my readers; so neither would I boldly divest of all credit such traditions as have publicly spread and been handed down as matter of history. The people of Regium Lepidum recount,
' That

‘ That on the day of the battle at Bedriacum, a certain bird, such as was never before seen there, perched upon a neighbouring grove much frequented, and that neither by the great concourse of persons, nor by the flock of other birds flying about her, was she terrified or driven thence, till the moment Otho put an end to his life: She then instantly disappeared; and by such as compared the conjuncture with the events, the beginning and end of the marvellous appearance were found to coincide with the death of Otho.’

The grief and wailings of the soldiers at his funeral, drove them into a fresh mutiny: nor was there any one to restrain them. To Verginius they applied, and with many entreaties, with many menaces, pressed him, now to accept the sovereignty, anon to go as their Embassador to Cæcina and Valens. Already they were breaking into the house, when Verginius, by a back way, stole out and escaped them. Of the Cohorts which lay at Brixellum, the petition was presented by Rubrius Gallus, and for them pardon forthwith obtained; while at the same time by the influence of Flavius Sabinus the forces under his command went over to the Conqueror.

When war had now every where ceased, a great part of the Senate found themselves exposed to extreme and capital danger, even all they who had accompanied Otho from Rome, and were by him afterwards left at Mutina. Thither had word come of the defeat: but the soldiers slighted it as rumour void of truth; and as they guessed the Senate to be disaffected to Otho, they watched the words of particulars, and wrested to a malignant sense even their countenance and demeanour. At last they proceeded to insult them with invectives and revilings, thence seeking a pretence and introduction to carnage and murder. By another terror too
the

the Senators were at the same time pressed, lest while the party of Vitellius thus prevailed and prospered, they might be suspected to have been slow and cool in taking part in the victory. Together therefore they met full of tremor, perplexed between the two perils, and full of anxiety. Nor had any one concerted a scheme or counsel of his own; since each reckoned himself the safer for that the offence was common to many. To the Senators, labouring under such difficulty and dread, a new weight of distress accrued from the magistracy of Mutina, who made them an offer of money and arms, nay, treated them with the high title of Conscript Fathers; an honour altogether ill-timed.

In the assembly there ensued a signal debate and contest, as Licinius Cæcina arraigned Eprius Marcellus; for that 'he reasoned in a strain equivocal
' and suspicious.' In truth, none of the rest declared their sentiments freely. But the name of Marcellus, one abhorred from the memory of the accusations by him exercised, and one still exposed to public hate, was what prompted Cæcina, that he who was only a new man, and lately assumed into the Senate, might by thus declaring enmity against men of great name, signalize his own. They were appeased by the moderation of men more worthy than either. And now they all returned as far as Bononia, with design there again to assemble upon counsel. In the interval it was presumed other advices more copious would arrive. At Bononia several men were posted upon the several roads about it, purposely to examine every the latest comer; and by these a freedman of Otho's being questioned upon the cause of his departure from his Lord, answered, 'that he had about him his Lord's last will and
' commands: alive indeed he left him, but divested of every care save such as regarded posterity,
' having

‘ having utterly renounced all the enjoyments of
‘ life and every inducement to continue it.’ Hence
their admiration of the man, and shame to make
further enquiry. And thus at once upon Vitellius
were turned the thoughts and obedience of all the
Senators.

At their deliberations was present his brother
Lucius Vitellius, who now presented himself to be
flattered, as did they all to flatter, when on a sud-
den Cœnus a freedman of Nero’s, by an impudent
and pernicious lie, astonished the whole assembly.
He affirmed, ‘ that by the arrival of the fourteenth
‘ Legion, in conjunction with the forces from
‘ Brixellum, the army which had lately conquered
‘ was intirely routed, and the fortune of the other
‘ party retrieved and changed.’ What prompted him
to such forgery was, that Otho’s warrants for post-
horses, now growing neglected, might by tidings
so joyful be restored to force. Cœnus, in truth, by
such carriage was borne in great speed to Rome, and
there, a few days after, by order from Vitellius suf-
fered the pains of death. This fiction of his
heighted the peril of the Senators, since by the
soldiers of Otho the relation was believed to be true.
It added notably to their dread, that, upon the ap-
pearance of publick council solemnly holden, they had
departed from Mutina, and relinquished the party.
Nor thereafter did they meet or consult in a body,
but every one for himself, till letters from Fabius
Valens removed their affright. Moreover the death
of Otho, the higher praise it claimed, with the more
velocity it flew.

But at Rome the while was felt no sort of terror
or alarm. The interludes sacred to Ceres were in
their annual course of celebration; and when into
the Theatre were brought news credibly attested,
‘ That Otho had ended his days, and that by Flavi-
‘ us Sabinus, governor of the city, all the soldiers
‘ in

‘ in it were drawn to swear allegiance to Vitellius,’ forthwith upon the name of Vitellius the spectators bestowed their shouts and applaudings. Around the Temples the people bore the images of Galba, crowned with laurel, and bedecked with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets into the fashion of a sepulchre close by the lake of Curtius, a place contaminated by the blood of Galba when he perished. In the Senate all the many honours devised for former Princes at intervals and during a long course of reigning, were at once decreed to Vitellius. To these were subjoined commendations upon the German armies, with publick thanks, and an embassy sent to carry them greetings and congratulations. The letters addressed by Fabius Valens to the Consuls were recited, and found to be conceived in terms no wise arrogant or assuming; but more acceptable was the modesty of Cæcina, for that he had not presumed to send any.

For the rest, Italy was afflicted with calamities more oppressive and barbarous than during the war she had suffered. The soldiers of Vitellius, distributed amongst the colonies and municipal cities, let themselves loose to spoil and ravage, by feats of cruelty and pollution filling and contaminating all places; and abandoned to universal rapine, or compounding for rapine at a price, without any regard had to right or wrong, spared neither things sacred or prophane. There were those too who, under the guise of soldiers, killed their particular enemies. And the soldiers themselves, as they well knew the country, were every where marking out all well replenished farms, with all the opulent possessors, and devoting both to plunder; or to fire and sword without mercy, if any resistance were offered. Nor dared their Generals to restrain them; they who were themselves guilty, and awed by their men. Of the two Cæcina was less addicted to avarice,

avarice, but more to court the favour of the soldiery. Valens was infamous for pillage and feats of rapine, and thence blind to the faults and excesses of others. For a good while past Italy had been exhausted and languishing; so that at present, so mighty a force of foot and horse, with such heavy acts of violence, so many depredations and insults, were borne with great difficulty and grievous regret.

Vitellius, in the mean time, unacquainted with the success of his own arms, was marching with the residue of the German army, as to war still in its vigour. In the winter quarters very few of the old soldiers were left; and by fresh levies hastily made amongst the Gauls, was supplied the just number of men in the Legions remaining behind. To Hordeonius Flaccus he committed the defence of the Rhine; and to his own army added eight thousand men drawn from Britain. Having marched a few days, he had intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and that by the death of Otho the war was concluded. He then assembled his men, and from the Tribunal accumulated many praises upon the bravery of the soldiers. As the army now made him a general request, that he would raise to the Equestrian Dignity his freedman Asiaticus, he checked a strain of flattery so disgraceful: Anon, through unsteadiness of spirit, what in the face of the public he had refused, he at a banquet privately conferred, and with the gold ring (the badge of Knighthood) dignified Asiaticus, a slave very infamous and vile, and grasping at power by all wicked ways.

About the same time came messengers with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the Mauritanias, Albinus, who in quality of Procurator governed there, being slain. Luceius Albinus had been by Nero preferred to the government of Mauritania

ritania stiled Cæsariensis; that of Tingitana he received afterwards from Galba; and thus came to be a leader of no mean force, that of nineteen Cohorts, five Squadron of horse, and of Moors a mighty host, a body from their daily exploits in robbing and ravaging, fit for those of war. After the murder of Galba, he became devoted to Otho, and not content with Africa, was meditating a descent upon Spain, severed from thence only by a narrow channel: A matter of terror to Cluvius Rufus, and he ordered the tenth Legion to march down to the shore, as if he had been just about to transport them. Before hand were sent over certain Centurions to conciliate to Vitellius the affections of the Moors; nor proved it a hard task, so mighty and prevalent through all the Provinces was the renown of the German army. A rumour moreover was spread, that Albinus, scorning the title of Procurator, had usurped the ensigns of Majesty and the royal name of Juba.

And from hence an utter change was wrought in the minds of the people there, they fell upon Asinius Pollio, who commanded a Squadron of horse, and slew him, a man who was one of the most assured friends of Albinus. Festus too, and Scipio were slain, both Captains of Cohorts. Albinus himself, as he passed by sea from the Province Tingitana, to that named Cæsariensis, was murdered upon landing: his wife, who indeed purposely presented herself to the assassins, was butchered with him. Nor into any part of these transactions, or of any other, did Vitellius make any enquiry. In truth, a hasty hearing was all that he afforded to any affair however momentous, unequal, as he intirely was, to every important deliberation. His army he commanded to pursue their progress by land; he himself sailed down the river Arar, utterly devoid of the lustre and appointments of an Emperor,

but only conspicuous in the display of his late and ancient indigence, till Junius Blæsus. Governor of the Lyonesse Gaul, a man nobly born, of a soul great and liberal, and of opulence proportionable, furnished him with a princely train, and accompanied him in person, with great state and magnificence. But by this very behaviour he administered distaste, though Vitellius disguised his hate under many courteous expressions, all servile and hollow. To Lyons, were come to attend him the Generals of both parties, the victorious and the vanquished. The praises of Valens and Cæcina he celebrated in public, and placed them on each side his chair of state. Anon he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his son, yet an infant. He was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour; his father holding him thus dressed in his arms, bestowed upon him the surname of *Germanicus*, and bedecked him with all the ensigns and decorations peculiar to sovereign fortune: honours which were conferred upon him in the transports of prosperity, and altogether excessive, yet served him for consolation in his ensuing distress and calamity.

Next, all the Centurions signal for their faith and bravery in the cause of Otho, were by order slain. Hence the principal disgust amongst the forces from Illyricum, and their estrangement from Vitellius. Moreover the rest of the Legions, smitten by their intercourse with the others, and urged by malice towards the German soldiery, were already meditating fury and war. He had long postponed to admit Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus, and held them like wretches in miserable expectance. When at length they were heard, the defence which they made was rather what necessity forced, than what honour allowed. Upon themselves they freely took the shame of treason, and to a fraud deliberately concerted between them, ' ascribed the long and
' wear-

‘wearisome march before the battle, the great fatigue of Otho’s foldiers, the intermixing the carriages amongst the embattled bands;’ with many other incidents purely fortuitous, by them imputed to contrivance. In effect, Vitellius gave credit to the confession of their treachery, and acquitted them as men of sound faith and allegiance. Salvius Titianus, Otho’s brother, incurred no sort of peril, as there pleaded for him the instinct and tenderness of nature, and his own impotent spirit. To Marius Celsus was reserved the Consulship to which he had been formerly designed. That Cæcilius Simplex brigued for that preferment by the means of money, and thence sought the destruction of Celsus, was a rumour currently believed, and anon charged upon him in the Senate. Vitellius opposed this intrigue and therefore conferred the Consulship upon Simplex, without the intervention of guilt or price. Trachalus was by Galeria, the wife of Vitellius, protected from the pursuits of his accusers.

Amidst these instances of illustrious men under arraignment and terrors, it is shameful to relate that of one Mariccus, by birth a Boian, and one of the meanest; who, under the lying pretence of a mission and authority divine, adventured to throw himself upon the favour of fortune during the public struggles, and to provoke the Roman arms. Already as deliverer of the Gauls, and as a God (for this was the title which he assumed) he had drawn together eight thousand men, and invaded the adjoining villages of the Eduans; when that State, exerting her wonted providence, by arraying the flower of her young men, aided by some Cohorts detached from Vitellius, routed the mad and visionary multitude. In the fray Mariccus was taken, and soon after thrown amongst the wild beasts; but because they rent him not, the Commonalty, ever gross and stupid, believed him not subject to any

effort of violence, till in the presence of Vitellius he was put to death.

Neither against the Rebels was further vengeance shewn, and to a man they escaped confiscation of effects. The last Wills of such as died fighting for Otho continued in force, or the law in behalf of those who died intestate. In truth, had the Prince set bounds to his luxury, he was no wise to be dreaded for avarice. To banqueting and voraciousness he was continually borne by an appetite quite beastly and boundless. From Rome and all Italy was brought him whatever tends to stimulate the palate, with every incentive to gluttony; whilst with the din of carriers loaded with viands, the roads from both seas were continually filled. By the expence of magnificent feasting, the Grandees of the municipal Cities were beggared and consumed, nay, the Cities themselves reduced to desolation. The soldiers, by being inured to voluptuousness, and a thorough contempt of their Leader, became debauched from all inclination to military fatigues, from all sense of virtue and bravery. Before him he sent an edict to Rome, to signify that he deferred receiving the name of Augustus, and would not accept that of Cæsar; when at the same time, from the prerogative of Imperial Power he receded nothing. He likewise banished the astrologers out of Italy, and enjoined, under a rigorous penalty, that henceforth no Roman Knight should debase himself to the exercises of fencing and of the Theatre: A practice to which by former Emperors they had been obliged, sometimes by the force of money, oftener by violence of power. The Colonies too and municipal Cities, from the spirit of emulation, studied by the allurements of price, to engage in such prostitution every young man signal for his vicious manners.

Vitellius, upon the arrival of his brother, and the influence of the many prompters of lawless power,
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men officiously winding themselves into favour, was now grown more lofty and tyrannical, and thence commanded Dolabella to be slain, the same whom I have already related to have been by order of Otho confined in the Colony of Aquine. Dolabella, upon tidings of the death of Otho, had returned to Rome. This was the charge alleged against him before Flavius Sabinus Governor of the City, by Plautius Varus, a man of Prætorian dignity, and one of Dolabella's intimate friends. The crimes specified were, 'That he had broken out of prison, and presented himself as a new Leader to the party vanquished.' The accuser added, 'That he had attempted to corrupt the Cohort quartered at Ostia. But all the proof of crimes so sounding and mighty, utterly failing, Plautius fell into remorse, and besought forgiveness too late for an iniquity already fatal. Whilst about a matter so momentous Flavius Sabinus wavered; he was driven from his suspense by a terrible warning from Triaria, wife to Lucius Vitellius, a woman outrageous and merciless beyond her sex, 'to take heed, that he exposed not the Prince to imminent danger, by courting for himself the fame of clemency.' Sabinus, in his own temper gentle, yet when seized by dread, easy to change, and in the peril of another fearful to involve himself, that he might not seem now to have succoured and upheld the accused, lent his hand to push down a man already falling.

Vitellius, therefore, struck with present fear, and indeed with former rancour, for that Petronia his divorced wife, had been by Dolabella forthwith espoused, sent for him, by letters, from Rome, with directions to avoid the Flaminian road, so great and frequented, and to come round by Terni: there he ordered him to be murdered. To the assassin this course seemed too tedious: at an inn upon the way, as Dolabella lay stretched at length upon the ground,

he cut his throat. Mighty was the hate and abhorrence by his blood derived upon the new reign, a sample of which was now first exhibited in this tragedy. The arbitrary insolence too of Triaria became more glaring by a singular instance of meekness in the same family, that of Galeria the Emperor's wife, who never insulted the afflicted. Moreover of the like character, benevolent and good, was Sextilia his mother, a lady ever conforming to the virtuous model of primitive times: She is even reported, upon the first letters from her son, to have said, 'That no Germanicus was born of her but Vitellius. Neither was her mind afterwards elated to joy by any of the charms and inticements of Imperial fortune, or by the general caresses and assiduity of the City; nor in the different fortunes of her house felt she any emotion save for its adversity and fall.

Vitellius having departed from Lyons, was overtaken by Marcus Cluvius Rufus. He, forsaking Spain, where he held the administration, came with many congratulations, much assumed gladness in his countenance, much real anguish in his soul, and well apprized that he was assaulted by imputations various and highly criminal. Against him Hilarius the Emperor's Freedman had urged, 'That upon advice of the contest of empire between Vitellius and Otho, he had attempted to establish an independent principality, and to appropriate to himself both the provinces of Spain: And with this view, in the warrants which he had issued, the name of no Emperor whomsoever was inserted.' Out of his public harangues the accuser presented certain passages, which he construed to have been so many malignant invectives against Vitellius, and so many artful baits for popular favour to himself. The credit of Cluvius prevailed, insomuch that Vitellius frankly doomed even his freedman to punishment.

nishment. Cluvius was taken into the class of the Emperor's companions and favourites, yet not deprived of the government of Spain, which he still administered though absent, after the example of Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Cæsar had detained from his Province through jealousy and fear. In detaining of Cluvius, Vitellius was moved by no apprehension at all. To Trebellius Maximus the like honour was not shewn. He had fled out of Britain, scared by the fury and menaces of the soldiers; and in his place was sent Vettius Bolanus, then attending in the court.

A fore torment it proved to Vitellius, that the spirit of the vanquished Legions continued still fierce and utterly unsubdued. As these Legions were dispersed over Italy, and mixed with the vanquishers, they were continually breathing the language of disaffection and war. Foremost in ferocity and sternness were they of the fourteenth Legion, who denied confidently, 'that ever they had been vanquished; for that, in the fight of Bedriacum, only the vexillary bands were repulsed; nor were the forces of the Legion in the field.' It was therefore resolved to remand them back to Britain, from whence they had been called over by Nero, and that with them in the mean time the Batavian Cohorts should always quarter, in consideration of their old quarrel with that Legion. Nor did tranquillity long hold amongst men thus furnished with arms, and thus mutually inflamed by mortal hate. At Turin, whilst a Batavian arraigned and insulted an Artificer as having defrauded him, and a soldier of the Legion protected the Artificer as his host, the soldiers of each side flocked together to support their companion. After much railing they were proceeding to slaughter, and a tragical battle had ensued, but that two Prætorian Cohorts, by espousing the party of the Legionaries, assured them of mastery,

and intimidated the Batavians as the weaker. The latter Vitellius ordered, as his faithful adherents, to be incorporated with his own army, and the Legion to be led over the Graian Alps, bending their route so as to avoid Vienne; for of the Viennese too fears were entertained. The night when the Legion marched away, by the fires which in several quarters they left unextinguished behind them, part of the Colony of Turin was burnt down: A disaster which was obliterated, as were many other evils of the war, by the calamities more mighty and consuming which befel other cities. The fourteenth Legion no sooner descended from the Alps, but all the most prone to mutiny turned their ensigns towards Vienne, and were marching thither, till by the union of the better disposed they became restrained, and thus were transported in a body to Britain.

The Prætorian Cohorts proved the next object of fear to Vitellius. First therefore they were separated, then discharged, but sweetened with the compliments of an honourable dismissal, and of surrendering their arms to the tribunes, like men who had fully served their term of warfare. But as soon as the war raised by Vespasian waxed hot, they again betook themselves to the exercise of arms, and provoked the bulwark of the Flavian party. The first Legion, entitled that of the Marines, was sent into Spain, there to become tame by a course of tranquillity and repose. The eleventh and the seventh were remanded to their old quarters. The thirteenth was ordered to erect two amphitheatres, since Cæcina and Valens were preparing each a public combat of Gladiators, the former at Cremona, the other at Bononia. For upon no counsel or affair was Vitellius ever so intent as to forego his diversions and pleasures.

He

He had now in truth with competent discretion separated the forces of the disaffected. Amongst the vanquishing party arose an insurrection, which derived its beginning from matter of pastime, yet such was the number of the slain in it as brought fresh hate and horror upon the war. It happened when Vitellius had sat down to a banquet in company with Verginius. Now the Commanders of Legions and Tribunes usually adopting the humour and demeanour of the Emperors, practise, like them, rigour and abstinence, or delight in voluptuousness and banqueting: and the common men thence become vigilant and regular, or prone to acts of licentiousness. About Vitellius was only seen universal disorder, universal drunkenness, and all things resembling rather nocturnal revellings and the debauches of Bacchanals, than an army quartered and the discipline of war. In this situation two soldiers, the one of the fifth Legion, the other from amongst the auxiliary Gauls, having while they sported together provoked each other to wrestle, the legionary soldier was thrown, and over him the Gaul triumphed with great scorn: hence they who had assembled only as beholders, divided strait into two parties very interested and angry, and the soldiers of the Legions falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two Cohorts to the sword. To this tumult another tumult proved a remedy. Dust at a distance and the lustre of arms were discerned; and instantly a general cry ran, that the fourteenth Legion had turned back, and was approaching purposely to fight. But it proved only the rear of their own army, a discovery which banished their concern. They chanced in the mean time to meet a slave belonging to Verginius: him they charge as one employed to assassinate Vitellius, and rush at once into the banqueting-room, where they insist that Verginius should be put to death. In truth,

Vitellius, even he who was subject to all suspicions, and open to every alarm, entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of Verginius. Yet much difficulty he found in restraining the vengeance of men so outrageous, as to demand with vehemence the bloody doom of one who had borne the supreme dignity of Consul, and been once their own General. In all seditions Verginius found himself threatened and assaulted; nor was any one so often as he. Amongst them their admiration of the man still remained, as did his signal fame; but for their offer of Empire rejected, they hated him as having despised them.

On the day following Vitellius heard the ambassadors from the Senate, having ordered them to await him there; then entered the camp, and upon the affectionate zeal of the soldiers heaped much applause. But the auxiliaries stormed, that the soldiers of the Legions should dare to commit so much outrage, yet find so much impunity. The Batavian Cohorts therefore, to divert them from venturing upon any tragical exploit, were sent back to Germany: for the Fates were already concerting the rise of war at once intestine and foreign. To their several territories were dismissed all the auxiliary Gauls, in number immense, and levied at the beginning of the revolt, as proper to swell the pomp and terror of the war. For the rest; that the revenues of the empire, already impaired and exhausted, might be able to supply his extravagant largesses, he ordered the number of men in the Legions and auxiliary troops to be retrenched; all recruits were forbid; nay, discharges without distinction were proffered: A deadly blow to the Commonweal, and to the soldiers matter of great disgust; since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many, and they were exposed to returns more frequent

quent of perils and fatigue. Moreover, their vigour was daily broken and corrupted by their luxurious living, so opposite to the ancient discipline and institutions of our ancestors, in whose days, for the support of the Roman State, virtue was found to excel money.

Vitellius from thence bent his course to Cremona, and having there beheld the public sports exhibited by Cæcina, conceived a longing to visit the field of Bedriacum, and, with his own eyes, to survey the scene and traces of the recent victory: A spectacle horrible and tragical, not quite forty days since the battle; bodies all rent and deformed; limbs and joints torn from their several trunks; the carcases of horses and of men, putrid and dissolving; the ground dyed and drenched with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, all the corn trodden under foot; the whole a scene of destruction shocking and sad. Nor fewer were the ghastly remains of cruelty and slaughter still to be seen upon part of the road itself, even that part which the people of Cremona had now bestrewed with roses and laurel, having reared many altars, and slain many victims, according to the servile behaviour of foreign nations to their Royal Tyrants: Flights of festivity by which, however gladsome at present, they anon brought desolation and the sword of vengeance upon their own heads. Valens and Cæcina accompanied him, and pointed out the several quarters of the combat; ‘Here the embattled Legions rushed to the onset; here the horse in a body began the assault; from thence the bands of auxiliaries encompassed the foe.’ Then the several Tribunes and Captains recounted and magnified their own feats of bravery; a wild medley of facts and of falsehood, at least of truths heightened by boasts and invention. The common soldiers likewise, in a transport of joy and shouts, turned aside
from

from the road to review the field. From space to space they called to mind every piece of ground where the several conflicts passed; they fixed their eyes upon the high heaps of arms; they beheld the bodies of the slain piled up in hills; beheld and marvelled. Some too there were sensibly touched with concern for the variable lot of all things human, and overcome with commiseration and tears. But from the sad scene Vitellius turned not once his eyes, and at the sight of so many thousand Roman Citizens slain and unburied, felt no horror. Nay, hence he even found cause for much joy, and presented a pompous sacrifice to the tutelar Deities of the place: so little was he aware of his own doleful fate so near at hand.

There followed the combat of Gladiators, by Fabius Valens exhibited at Bononia, whither all the decorations of the entertainment had been brought from Rome. The nearer Vitellius advanced to Bononia, the more debauched and loose proved his march. Amongst his military bands were blended bands of comedians and herds of eunuchs, with all the other ludicrous pageantry answerable to the genius of the Court in Nero's reign: for of Nero himself too, Vitellius always spoke with admiration and praise. In truth, as often as the former went about singing, the other had never failed to follow him from place to place, by no necessity constrained, as was every man most conspicuous for worth, but purely as the sold slave of voluptuousness, and purchased by the price and allurements of gorging. That he might procure to Valens and Cæcina some vacant months for exercising the Consulship, the term appointed for others was abridged. Of the appointment of Martius Macer to that office, no notice was taken; for that he had been a General in the party of Otho. Valerius Marinus, one designed Consul by Galba, he postponed to a
further

further time; for no offence given, but as a man gentle and patient, and apt to acquiesce under any injury. Pedanius Costa was passed over; one distasteful to the Prince, as having engaged in the design against Nero, and urged Verginius to arms. But for depriving Costa other causes than these were assigned. Nay, to Vitellius, for such instances of partiality, solemn thanks were besides returned, suitable to the habit of tameness and servitude long since established.

Not beyond a few days lasted a cheat and delusion then prevailing, though its first rise and efforts were vigorous and popular. A certain person had started up, alledging 'himself to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that during the days of Nero he had, through the dread of the Tyrant, lived concealed in Histria; for that, there, still were found the followers and possessions of the ancient Crassi, and, there, yet remained partiality and fondness for the name.' As he had therefore assumed a number of associates, fellows the most abandoned, to assist him in conducting his plot, the populace, ever prone to credulity, were already flocking to him with contending zeal; as were some of the soldiers, whether unapprized of the truth, or from a passion for public commotions; when he himself was haled away, as a prisoner, before Vitellius, and questioned what manner of man he was? When to his words no credit was given, and his Lord knew him to be Geta his fugitive slave, (such was his name and condition of life) he was doomed to die after the manner of slaves.

Scarce credible is it to recount to what an amazing degree of pride and senselessness Vitellius swelled, when by his intelligencers from Syria and Judæa, he was informed that the Provinces in the East had taken the oath of fidelity to him. For, the Name of Vespasian, however fleeting the rumours about him

him were, and no wife to be traced to any certain authors, yet employed popular fame, and the mouths of men; and upon the mention of him Vitellius would frequently start. Upon the arrival of these tidings, both Emperor and Army, as having now no rival power to dread, assuming the hostile demeanour of aliens and barbarians, became abandoned to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine.

Now, Vespasian, the while, was carefully weighing the business of war and arms, and estimating the several forces, those at a distance, and those at hand. To himself his soldiers were so devoted, that when before them he took the oath to Vitellius, (as a precedent for them to follow) and wished him a prosperous reign, they heard him with disgust and silence. The spirit of Mucianus was no wife indifferent to Vespasian, and even fond of Titus. Alexander Governor of Egypt, had already engaged in the design. For his own he accounted the third Legion then in Mœsia, since out of Syria it had been translated thither. Hopes too were entertained, that the other Legions in Illyricum would espouse the same interest. For all the armies, wherefoever, had been incensed by the insults and arrogance of the soldiers, who were daily arriving from Vitellius; for that these men, in their persons fierce and turbulent, in speech hideous and savage, scorned all the rest as men despicable and inferior. In concerting, however, the scheme of the war, one so arduous and mighty, there intervened frequent hesitation and doubt; and Vespasian, though sometimes confirmed in hope, yet often revolved upon the dangers incurred, and a disastrous issue. ‘ What
‘ an awful and important day to him must that
‘ prove, when he cast himself upon the fate and ca-
‘ price of war at the age of sixty, and his two sons
‘ in the prime of their years? In private pursuits,
‘ room

‘ room was always left to retreat, and for making
‘ more or less use of fortune, at the pleasure of the
‘ pursuers. To those who strive for sovereignty,
‘ no middle lot remains ; but reign they must or
‘ perish.’

Before his eyes he set the great strength of the German Army, a thing perfectly known to him who was a military man. ‘ In the struggles of the
‘ civil war, his own Legions had no part or trial,
‘ when those of Vitellius had been the conquerors;
‘ and amongst the conquered, complaints were
‘ found more abounding than force. Slippery and
‘ frail had public combustions and the strife of parties rendered the faith of the soldiers, and from
‘ every individual amongst them danger was to be
‘ apprehended. For, in truth, what security could
‘ accrue from battalions of foot and squadrons of
‘ horse, if one particular man or two were resolved.
‘ by a bold murder, to earn a ready reward from
‘ the opposite party ? It was thus Scribonianus was
‘ slain under Claudius ; it was thus Volaginius his
‘ assassin, from a common soldier, came to be promoted to the highest posts in the army. A much
‘ easier task it were to excite them in a body to any
‘ design, than to escape the wicked designs of particulars.’

Whilst under apprehensions like these he continued wavering, not only the rest of the Commanders and all his personal friends strove to invigorate his hopes, but Mucianus too, after many reasonings with him in secret, applied to him openly in the following stile. ‘ To all who deliberate about
‘ attempts great and important, it is expedient that
‘ they estimate whether what they undertake be
‘ profitable to the State, and to themselves honourable ; whether to be readily accomplished, at least
‘ not attended with glaring difficulties. Of him
‘ too who proposes the counsel a judgment is to be
‘ made,

‘ made, whether to support his counsel he freely
‘ ventures his person; as also, if fortune prosper
‘ the enterprize, upon whom it is that the glory of
‘ the whole devolves. It is I who call thee, Vespasian,
‘ to Imperial Power; a proposall equally salutary
‘ to the Commonwealth, as to thyself illustrious
‘ and grand: And, with the concurrence of the
‘ Deities, in thy own hands the issue rests. Nor
‘ needest thou in this proposall fear any shadow of
‘ flattery. Nearer it borders upon matter of ignominy
‘ than upon matter of praise, to be chosen
‘ Emperor after Vitellius. It is not against the
‘ lively spirit of the deified Augustus that we have
‘ a revolt to maintain, nor against the old age of
‘ Tiberius, crafty and cautious; nor, in truth,
‘ against the family of Caligula, Claudius, or Nero,
‘ a family so long established in the possession of
‘ Sovereignty. Nay, to Galba too, in honour of
‘ the ancient splendor of his lineage, thou didst
‘ yield place. Further to linger in acquiescence
‘ and sloth, and abandon the Commonwealth to
‘ this miserable lot of debasement and perdition,
‘ would argue a soul quite cowardly and benumbed,
‘ were it even possible that from such a state of servitude
‘ thou couldst reap, as of infamy an inevitable stock,
‘ so an equal share of security. Already elapsed and vanished
‘ is the time when thou mightest have been thought to have
‘ entertained a passion for the pleasure of reigning. At present
‘ it behoves thee to fly to the possession of Sovereignty,
‘ as to a shelter for thy life. Canst thou forget the doom of
‘ Corbulo, how that great General was murdered? A man for
‘ blood and descent more renowned, I confess, than we are:
‘ but Nero too in the splendor of his race surpassed
‘ Vitellius. Ever sufficiently illustrious, in the eyes
‘ of him who dreads, is the man who causes his dread.
‘ And, that a provincial army may create
‘ an

‘ an Emperor, Vitellius himself is a living example;
‘ he who had never been bred a soldier, he who
‘ had no reputation in war, he who was thus pro-
‘ moted only because Galba was hated. Even
‘ Otho, who in truth was overcome by no conduct
‘ in the opposite Leader, nor by any superior force
‘ of arms, but by his own overhasty renouncing of
‘ life, is, by the behaviour of Vitellius, rendered a
‘ Prince great in name, and highly regretted. Yet
‘ even now he is dispersing the Legions, disarming
‘ the Cohorts, and daily furnishing fresh materials
‘ for war. Whatever ardour and bravery might
‘ have been heretofore found in his soldiers, is wast-
‘ ed and enfeebled by chambering and riotous liv-
‘ ing, and by emulating the excesses of their Em-
‘ peror. At your command you have nine Le-
‘ gions, intire, from Judæa, and Syria, and Egypt;
‘ forces by no wars exhausted, by no mutinies de-
‘ bauched, but men assured by long regularity and
‘ trial, and accustomed to victory over foreign foes.
‘ From your shipping and fleets, from auxiliary
‘ battalions of foot, and squadrons of horse, you
‘ have powerful succours and reserves. You have
‘ confederate Kings for your faithful adherents;
‘ and what surpasses the assistance of all men, you
‘ have your own ability and experience.

‘ To myself I arrogate nothing, further than
‘ that I be not ranked behind Valens and Cæcina.
‘ Yet do not therefore scorn Mucianus for an affo-
‘ ciate, because you find that he pretends not to be
‘ your rival. I prefer myself to Vitellius, and to
‘ myself you. Your house was distinguished with
‘ triumphal honours, and you are the father of two
‘ sons both in the bloom of life; one of them al-
‘ ready capable of sustaining the weight of Empire,
‘ one who in his first essays in war, amongst the
‘ German Armies, acquired with them too a name
‘ of renown. Absurd it were in me not to yield
‘ the

‘ the Empire to him whose son I should presently
‘ adopt, if I myself were Emperor. For the rest;
‘ of the good and evil of fortune an equal measure
‘ will by no means accrue to us both; since if we
‘ conquer, the honour which you shall chuse to
‘ bestow, I shall enjoy. Risques and dangers we
‘ shall bear alike: or, which is more eligible, do
‘ you command these armies here, and upon me
‘ confer the direction of the war, and the ambig-
‘ ous events of battle. More rigidly at this very
‘ time are rules and discipline practised by the con-
‘ quered than by the conquerors; as the former are,
‘ through indignation, through despite, and thirst
‘ of vengeance, awakened and prompted to mag-
‘ nanimity; while the others, from a spirit of con-
‘ ceit and loftiness, and disdain of duty, are lapsing
‘ fast into effeminacy and languor. Amongst the
‘ victorious party there are grievous wounds now
‘ covered and inflamed, such as the war itself will
‘ not fail to discover and lay open. Nor do I
‘ place higher confidence in your known vigilance,
‘ parsimony and wisdom, than in the stupidity,
‘ folly and cruelty of Vitellius. Add, that safer
‘ is our lot in war than in peace: for, they who
‘ consult about revolting are already revolted.’

After this discourse from Mucianus, the rest grew more confident. They surrounded him, exhorted him, and laid before him the propitious responses of Oracles, and position of the stars. Neither was he exempt from such superstition; he, who coming soon after to be Emperor, retained openly about him one Seleucus a fortune-teller, to guide his counsels, and prognosticate events. In his mind he revolved certain presages past. In his grounds a cypress tree signally tall had suddenly fallen, and on the day following, rising again upon the same foundation, resumed fresh growth and verdure, with more heighth and thicker trunk: A mighty omen
and

and big with felicity, according to the concurring testimony of the soothsayers; and hence to Vespasian, then in his early bloom, assurance was given of signal grandeur in the State. Yet at first, by his investiture with the decorations of triumph, by bearing the dignity of the consulship, and his renown in vanquishing the Jews, the whole presage seemed to have been literally accomplished. When he had passed through these honours, he grew to believe that the Empire was verily the thing presaged. Between Judæa and Syria stands mount Carmel, the place and the Deity of the place bearing the same name. Nor is the God distinguished by any statue or any temple, but only by an altar reared, and worship offered. Such is the primitive institution by tradition preserved. To Vespasian, as he offered sacrifice there, and while his soul was labouring under the agitations of his own occult hopes and views, Basilides the priest, having diligently surveyed the entrails, declared, ‘Whatever design it is that thou dost meditate, O Vespasian, whether to build a house, or to extend thy domains, or to enlarge thy train of slaves; to thee is granted a settlement large and mighty, infinite bounds, and multitudes of men.’ Mysterious words which popular fame failed not then presently to disperse, nor at this juncture to explain and apply. Neither did aught more commonly employ the tongues of the populace, or furnish more frequent matter of discourse in his own hearing; as to those who rely upon hope, such soothing speeches are more abundantly used.

Having now ascertained their common pursuit, they parted, Mucianus to Antioch, Vespasian to Cæsarea; this the Metropolis of Judea, the former that of Syria. At Alexandria first was begun the example of transferring the Empire to Vespasian, through the haste and zeal of Tiberius Alexander, who

who brought the Legions there to swear allegiance to him on the first of July. And this was the day kept and solemnized ever afterwards, as the first of his reign; though the army in Judæa took to himself in person the same oath on the third of July, with such signal ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of Titus, who was then on his journey back from Syria: For by him were all the measures taken between his father and Mucianus negociated. By the mere vehemence and passion of the soldiers the whole affair was transacted, without any assembly called, without drawing the Legions together.

Whilst a proper time and place were awaited for beginning the revolt, and yet it was uncertain who should declare first, a circumstance of eminent difficulty in transactions of this moment; whilst his mind was still exercised with the impulses of hope and of fear, with the call and dictates of prudence, with the force and operation of casualties; once when he came forth from his chamber, certain soldiers, in number very few, posted in their usual order and station, as if they had been ready to salute him by the wonted name of General, saluted him by that of Emperor. Thither then instantly thronged all the rest, and upon him accumulated the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and every one else peculiar to Sovereignty. His spirit now relinquished fear to follow fortune. In his aspect nothing of loftiness appeared, nothing arrogant, nor any new behaviour under his new character. As soon as he had recovered the full use of his sight, dazzled at first by the glare of a change so sudden and so mighty, he spoke to them in the language and spirit of a soldier, and received returns of wishes and acclamations altogether affectionate and manifold. Mucianus, who only waited for these glad tidings, administered to his soldiers, who were themselves in truth chearfully disposed, the oath to Vespasian. He then

then went into the Theatre at Antioch, the place where that people are wont to assemble upon all matters of deliberation; and there, to the crowd flocking to attend him, and abandoned to humour him with all servile sycophancy, made an harangue: For, even in the Greek eloquence he could acquit himself with abundant grace, and possessed a particular talent, of heightening with notable pomp whatever he spoke, and whatever he acted. Nothing so effectually enflamed the province and the army as what Mucianus affirmed, ‘ That it was the
‘ fixt purpose of Vitellius to transplant the German
‘ Legions into Syria, there to enjoy a service full
‘ of gain and full of tranquility; and, in exchange,
‘ to convey the Legions in Syria to cold encamp-
‘ ments in Germany, a horrid climate, and a sad
‘ scene of fatigues.’ The truth is, not only were the inhabitants of Syria well pleased with the soldiers their accustomed guests, and in many instances were linked with them in blood and alliances; but to the soldiers too, from their ancient settlement there, their quarters were become natural and familiar, and dear as their own native dwellings.

Before the fifteenth of July the whole Province of Syria had taken the same oath. To the party too there acceded King Sohemus with the forces of his kingdom, a power very considerable; as did Antiochus, mighty in wealth long since acquired, and of all the Kings who were vassals to Rome, the most opulent. Presently after Agrippa, roused by expresses secretly dispatched from his friends in the East urging him to leave Rome, departed ere Vitellius was aware of his design, and returned with great expedition by sea. Nor with less vigour did Queen Berenice support the same interest, then in her full bloom of youth and beauty, and even to Vespasian, old as he was, very agreeable for her liberality and magnificent gifts. Allegiance was likewise sworn
by

by all the maritime Provinces extending to Asia and Achaia, and by all the midland regions bordering upon Pontus and both Armenias; countries however where the Lieutenant Generals their Governors, ruled without armies: for, hitherto there were no Legions quartered in Cappadocia. At Berytus a council was established for the direction of all momentous affairs. Hitherto repaired Mucianus with a train of General Officers and tribunes, and of all such Centurions and private men as made a splendid appearance. From the army too in Judæa came a number of those who were accounted the principal ornaments and glory of the camp. A multitude so mighty of foot and horse, with the pomp and parade of Kings, striving to surpass each other, furnished the appearance of the court and grandeur of an Emperor.

The first step taken for prosecuting the war, was to enlist men, and to recall to the service the dismissed veterans. For the forging of arms fortified Cities were allotted. At Antioch money was coined, gold and silver. And all these undertakings were, in their several quarters, diligently dispatched by careful and capable inspectors. Vespasian himself was continually applying to all, continually pressing and encouraging them: The deserving he animated by commendations, the lazy and slow by his example more frequently than by correction; ever more forward to be blind to the vices of his friends and followers than to their virtues. Many of them he preferred to the rule of particular districts, many to be Comptrollers for the Emperor in the Provinces, several to the dignity of Senators; men who proved of signal merit, and thereafter acquired the highest honours in the State. Some there were whose defect of virtue was supplied by fortune. Of any donative to the soldiery, neither did Mucianus, in his first speech, present them with any
other

other than very narrow hopes, nor in truth did Vespasian, in the heat of civil war, propose one higher than others had been wont to propose during full peace; as he was a Leader of exemplary firmness against courting the soldiers by largesses, and thence followed by an army better and more uncorrupt. To the Parthians and Armenians Embassadors were sent and provision made, that when the Legions were withdrawn to prosecute the civil war, the countries behind should not be left naked and defenceless. It was resolved that Titus should push the war in Judæa, and Vespasian seize the straits leading into Egypt. To encounter Vitellius part of the forces were judged sufficient, with Mucianus for their Leader, and the name of Vespasian, and propitious fate, which scorns all terror and every obstacle. To all the Armies and Generals letters were sent, with orders, ' That the Prætorian soldiers, who bore ' enmity to Vitellius for discharging them, should ' be invited to arms by the offer of a reward, even ' that of restoring them to their former station.'

Mucianus, at the head of an expedite band, and acting like a colleague rather of the Empire than a minister of the Emperor, proceeded on his march, neither with a lingering pace, lest he should be thought to pause and procrastinate, nor with notable haste, since he would allow space for fame to swell the terror of his approach; as he was well aware, how few his forces were, and that of things remote and unseen much higher are the apprehensions than the reality. After him however there marched a huge body, the sixth Legion and thirteen thousand Vexillaries. The Fleet he commanded to be removed from Pontus to Byzantium; wavering in opinion, whether he should not let alone Mœsia, and leading his forces foot and horse strait to Dyrhachium, beset at the same time with his Gallies the sea towards Italy; since by this course he should
leave

leave Achaia and Asia in perfect security behind him, countries which, were they left without the protection of forces, would be exposed, void of arms and defence, to those of Vitellius. Thus too Vitellius himself would be perplexed what quarter of Italy to guard, when he found Brundisium and Tarentum, as also the coasts of Calabria and Lucania, at once assaulted by hostile fleets.

Throughout the Provinces, therefore, the prevailed the mighty uproar of warlike preparations, those of ships, and men, and of arms. But nothing proved so great an embarrassment as where to procure funds of money. This Mucianus urged to be the sinews of civil war, and therefore, in all processes and trials, regarded neither law nor right, but only mighty treasure. On all hands accusations and delinquencies were framed; and every man, noted for wealth, was ensnared and consigned to spoil: Afflicting grievances, and indeed intolerable; for which, however, the craving necessities of war furnished then an excuse. Yet afterwards too they were continued even during peace. Vespasian himself, it is true, in the beginning of his reign, was not wont to be rigorous in authorizing acts of injustice and oppression; but afterwards, encouraged through the continual caresses of Fortune, and by wicked counsellors mistaught, he learnt the art, and pursued it confidently. Out of his own treasure too Mucianus helped to support the war; thus liberal of a private sum, which he was sure to repay, with large amplifications, out of the public. The rest contributed money after his example; but it was rare to find any favoured with the like latitude in recovering their share.

In the mean time, the undertakings of Vespasian were notably quickened by the zeal found in the Illyrian army. In Mœsia, the third Legion revolting to his party, afforded thence an example to the others

others there, namely the eighth and the seventh, entitled *Claudiana*, both personally devoted to Otho, though they had not been in the last fight. They had indeed advanced as far as Aquileia, and there meeting melancholy tidings of Otho, used them who brought the same with outrage, rent to pieces the standards bearing the name of Vitellius, nay, at last, making spoil of the public money, and sharing it amongst themselves, acted with open hostility. Hence consciousness and dread possessed them, and from their dread proceeded their counsel and contrivance, 'That to Vespasian they might urge as matter of service and merit these deeds of violence, for which else they must plead submission and excuses to Vitellius.' Inasmuch that these three Legions in Mœsia sent letters to solicit the army in Pannonia into the confederacy, and, if they refused, were preparing to have recourse to force and the sword. During this combustion, Aponius Saturninus, Commander in Mœsia, attempted to perpetrate a crying enormity, by dispatching a Centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, Colonel of the seventh Legion, purely to satiate his own particular pique and vengeance, which he now disguised under other names, and for his motives alledged the cause and interest of the party. Julianus, who had learnt his peril, furnishing himself with guides acquainted with the situation of the country, fled through the deserts of Mœsia quite beyond the mountain Hæmus. Nor thenceforward was he engaged in any transaction of the war; for though he undertook a journey to Vespasian, he prolonged it by divers pretences and delays, and according to the quality of the tidings brought him, speeded or lingered.

Now in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and the seventh called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without hesitation to the cause of Vespasian; as, for the defeat at Bedriacum, they yet retained much grief and wrath, and yielded to the instigations of An-

tonius Primus, foremost of all in spirit and vigour. This man, subject to the sentence of the law, and under Nero condemned for falsification, amongst the other evils of war, had recovered his rank as a Senator. Being by Galba preferred to the command of the seventh Legion, he was believed to have made frequent applications to Otho by letters, offering to serve him in capacity of a General: But, neglected by Otho, he remained without part in that war. Then when the fortune of Vitellius appeared to be failing, he betook himself to that of Vespasian, and to the cause proved an addition mighty and momentous, as he was brave in his person, a prompt speaker, a rare artist in bringing other men under hate and disgust, a powerful man in popular tumults and uproar, rapacious, profuse, one during peace altogether wicked and corrupt, in war too considerable to be slighted. The Mœsian army and that of Pannonia having thus joined, drew after them the soldiers in Dalmatia, though in this movement the consular commanders had no participation. In Pannonia Titus Ampius Flavianus bore rule, in Dalmatia Poppeius Silvanus; two men very wealthy and very old. But in those quarters was then found Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, one in the vigour of his age, and his descent illustrious. He had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the dignity of a Senator. He afterwards defended his own Colony, as leader in behalf of Galba, and having for that service gained the employment of Procurator, at this time embraced the party of Vespasian, and to the flame of war added most furious fuel. In the rewards of perils he delighted not so much as in the perils themselves, and to acquirements long since obtained and safely possessed, preferred new pursuits, however doubtful and dangerous. Wherever therefore they discovered minds easy and distempered, there they exerted all their
might

might to blow up disaffection and rage. Into Britain dispatches were sent, to the fourteenth Legion, others into Spain, to the first; for that both had engaged for Otho and Vitellius. Over all the territories of the Gauls too letters were dispersed. And thus in a moment blazed forth a war extensive and terrible, as the armies in Illyricum were openly revolting, and all the rest watching the tendency of fortune, and ready to follow it.

Whilst these things were transacted in the Provinces of Vespasian and the Leaders of his party, Vitellius waxed daily more contemptible, daily more stupid and resigned to sloth. In all the Villas and great Towns through which he passed, every pleasure and every diversion proved a bait to stop him: and thus he proceeded to Rome with an host vast and cumbersome. There accompanied him three-score-thousand armed men, a body utterly dissolute and licentious; of underlings and attendants of the camp a larger number, with a swarm of suttlers, a crew known to be, by the bent of nature, even of all slaves the most disorderly and impudent. Add the train of so many principal officers, that of so many of the Emperor's friends; a multitude untractable to the rules of obedience, even though with a strict hand the reins of authority had been holden. The crowd, great in itself, was further furcharged by the arrival of the Senators and Roman Knights, who came from Rome to meet the Emperor; a compliment which some paid from fear, many from flattery, others, and by degrees all, because they would not be singular and remain behind when the rest were going. Of the rabble there flocked thither all who through the merit of former services, however low and infamous, were known to Vitellius, Buffoons, Mimics, and Charioteers; as in familiarities thus disgraceful he felt marvellous pleasure. Neither were the Colonies alone and municipal Cities consumed by furnishing such vast supplies

of provision, but as the grain was then ripe, the husbandmen themselves and their lands were stripped and laid waste, like a hostile soil.

Many and barbarous were the murders by the soldiers committed amongst themselves, ever since the insurrection at Ticinum ; as towards one another the Legions and the Auxiliaries still harboured mutual rancour, though in contesting with the Peasants they were always unanimous. But the heaviest slaughter was perpetrated seven miles from Rome. Here Vitellius caused to be distributed amongst his soldiers a quantity of meat ready dressed, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of Gladiators ; and the populace coming in droves to the camp, were scattered all over it. Some of these aiming at a feat of archness in vogue with them, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived, and then asked them merrily, why they were not begirt with their swords ? The soldiers, not wont to be scorned, could not bear such mockery, and with their swords drawn fell upon the people, destitute of arms and defence. Amongst others was slain the father of one of the soldiers whilst he was accompanying his son : he was soon after known, and upon his death being divulged, they ceased slaughtering innocent men. In Rome however great dread prevailed, for that the soldiers running thither before the host, were perpetually arriving and roving about. The Forum was the quarter to which they most eagerly repaired, from an earnest curiosity to behold the place where Galba fell. Nor less horrible was the spectacle which in their own persons they afforded, their bodies covered with the skins of wild beasts, and carrying javelins huge and massy, both in their coverings and their weapons savage and grim, in behaviour too equally hideous : For, whenever they were pressed

pressed by the throng of people, which they wanted discretion to shun, or whenever they tumbled through the slipperiness of the streets, or were thrown down by the jolt of any one who was passing, they betook themselves to threats and clamour, and then instantly to violence and their arms. Already too the Tribunes and Captains of horse, followed by bands of armed men, were bounding to and fro with great terror and parade.

Vitellius himself mounted upon a stately steed, and in his coat of armour, with his sword girt on, was advancing from the Milvian bridge, making the Senate and People to pass on before him : but being restrained by the advice of his friends from entering the City in his warlike dress, as if the same had been taken by the sword, he put on the robe of a Senator, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific. In the front were borne the Eagles of four Legions, round about them an equal number of Standards belonging to other Legions, next twelve Ensigns of so many squadrons of horse, then the files of infantry, and behind them the cavalry: There came after thirty-four Cohorts distinguished suitably to the diversity of their nations or of their arms. Before their several Eagles marched the Camp Marshals, the Tribunes and principal Centurions, all apparelled in white raiments. At the head of their several companies the other Centurions appeared glittering with arms, and their military gifts displayed. The chains also of the common soldiers, and the trappings of their horses yielded a resplendent shew. The whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of an Emperor not resembling Vitellius. In this state he entered the Capitol, and there embracing his Mother, dignified her with the title of *Augusta*.

The next day he made a public speech, and in it, as if he had had for his audience the Senate and People

of another City, uttered very high and pompous things of himself. Upon his activity and temperance particularly he bestowed many lofty praises, even in the presence of such as had beheld his vile doings and excesses; as indeed had all Italy, through which he had marched in a course most infamous, continually intoxicated and drowned in voluptuousness. The crowd, however, ever void of thought and care, and, without discerning truth from falsehood, only skilled in the flights of flattery become long since habitual, broke out into an uproar of wishes and acclamations; and, as he refused the name of *Augustus*, they pressed him so that he accepted it, but to as little purpose as before he had denied it.

In a City like Rome, prone to pass censure upon every transaction whatsoever, it passed for an omen of evil portent, that Vitellius, who was created chief Pontif, had on the eighteenth of July published his edict concerning the celebration of solemnities divine; a day holden inauspicious from antiquity downward, for that on it happened the tragical overthrow at Cremera and Allia. So unattentive he was, and unknowing in ordinances human and religious: And, as amongst his freedmen and friends equal stupidity was found, he behaved as if he had none about him but men infatuated and drunken. Yet in holding the assembly for creating Consuls, he assisted with apparent moderation, and towards the candidates as no other than their equal: Nay, studying to gain the good graces and applause of the rabble, he courted them by frequenting the Theatre as a spectator amongst them, and the Circus as a partizan; actions, when proceeding from principles of virtue, truly engaging and popular, but in him accounted unseemly and vile, upon remembrance of his former life. Into the Senate he often came, even when the deliberations

tions there were about things of small moment; and as Helvidius Priscus, Prætor elect, chanced to offer his sentiments against those of the Emperor, he at first waxed angry, yet no further than to call upon the Tribunes of the people to support his authority thus brought under contempt. Anon, upon the interposition of friends, who dreading deeper resentment, accosted him with mitigations, he made answer, 'Nothing new had happened, that in the Commonwealth two Senators should be of different opinions: he himself too had been wont to oppose Thrasea.' Many ridiculed the impudence of the comparison. To others it proved well pleasing, that in representing an example of true glory, he had mentioned Thrasea, and none of the minions of power.

For Captains of the Prætorian Guards he appointed Publius Sabinus, raised from the command of a Cohort, and Julius Priscus then only a Centurion. Priscus held his authority from the interest of Valens, Sabinus from that of Cæcina. Between these two favourites, always at variance with one another, no portion of power remained to Vitellius. All the functions of Sovereignty were administered by Cæcina and Valens, men long since imbittered by mutual hate, which even during war, and amidst armies, had been ill-disguised, and was now highly enflamed by the malignity of their several friends, and indeed by the genius of the City, ever fertile in producing seeds of enmity; whilst they strove to excel each other in credit and sway, in greatness of train, in numerous levees and dependents, and whilst by others, comparisons were made of their influence and grandeur. Various too and wavering were the inclinations of Vitellius, now partial to one, anon to another. Nor, in truth, can ever any certain assurance be placed in the possession of authority which knows no mea-

ture. Add that they despised Vitellius and dreaded him, as a man by every gust of passion, or by any wild strain of flattery, apt to be suddenly changed. Yet this rendered them the more slack or remiss in seizing for themselves fine houses and gardens, and the wealth of the Empire, whilst to all the many nobles by Galba recalled with their children from exile, a multitude very indigent and deplorable, no sort of support was administered by the Prince, no acts of compassion shewn. That he had restored to such as were returned from banishment their jurisdiction over their Freedmen, was a concession well pleasing to the Grandees of the City, and what even the populace approved. Though this kindness was rendered intirely abortive by the fraud of these servile spirits who conveyed their money into hiding-places, or lodged it for security in the hands of men powerful at Court. Nay, some of them having entered into the family of the Emperor, became more mighty than their Lords and Patrons.

Now the multitude of soldiers being such as the camp could not contain, the residue, when that was full, quartered in the publick Portico's or in the Temples, and were continually roaming all over the City. They grew unacquainted with their stations and places of arms, kept no watch, nor by any exercise or fatigue preserved their vigour. Surrendering themselves to the voluptuous inticements of the City, and to practices too abominable to be named, they impaired their bodies by idleness, their courage by feats of lewdness and riot. At last, renouncing all regard even to health, great part of them betook themselves to the malignant quarters of the Vatican. Hence followed great mortality amongst the common men. The Germans too and Gauls, who have bodies very subject to diseases, as they now lay upon the banks
of

of the Tiber, were become quite baned through the extreme heat, which they could not bear, and through an intemperate delight in cooling themselves in the stream. Moreover, the state and order of the soldiery, either by the efforts of malice or the drifts and intrigues of ambition, was quite vitiated and broken. A body was formed of sixteen Prætorian, and four City Cohorts, each containing a thousand men. In this enrolment Valens assumed the larger share and superior direction; for that he claimed the merit of having redeemed Cæcina himself out of impending peril. It is indeed certain that to his arrival the party owed its vigour and revival, and by a successful battle he had stayed the severe rumour and impressions occasioned through the slowness of his march. Add that all the soldiers of the lower Germany were wholly attached to the person of Valens. Hence, it was believed the fidelity of Cæcina first began to fluctuate.

For the rest, Vitellius gave not such absolute scope to the Generals, but that to the humours of the soldiers he allowed a latitude much larger. Every particular changed his place in the service as he listed: One desired to be enlisted into the City Troops, and, however unworthy, was admitted because he himself preferred it: Others again, deserving of that service, were suffered to continue in the Legions or auxiliary Squadrons, if such was their own choice. Nor were there wanting some who chose it, as they were afflicted with diseases, and full of complaints against the intemperate heat of the climate. Yet from the Legions and auxiliary Squadrons their principal strength was withdrawn, and the uniformity and beauty of the camp at Rome abolished; since these twenty thousand men, drawn from the whole army, were rather mingled at random, than chosen with discretion. As

Vitellius was making a speech to the soldiers, they demanded the execution of Asiaticus, Flavius, and Rufinus, Leaders amongst the Gauls; for that they had raised war in behalf of Vindex. Neither did Vitellius repress such daring clamours: for, besides that he had a spirit naturally impotent and stupid, he was sensible that the day for the donative approached, and as the money still was wanting, he copiously granted the soldiers every other concession. Upon all the Freedmen of the former Emperors, a tribute was imposed in proportion to the number of their slaves. He himself, who was only solicitous to dissipate and confound, erected stables for the use of Charioteers, filled the Circus with spectacles and combats, those of Gladiators, those of wild beasts; and as in the most flowing plenty, wantonly scattered treasure.

Moreover, Cæcina and Valens, in celebrating the birth-day of Vitellius, exhibited public entertainments of Gladiators in every street, with transcendent pomp and parade, and till that day unknown. A notable matter of joy it proved to all the profligate and debauched, as to the virtuous it gave sore disgust and regret, that in the field of Mars, upon altars purposely reared, Vitellius solemnized the obsequies of Nero. Victims were publicly slain and burnt, the torch for kindling the sacrifice was even administered by the Augustal Priests, an order consecrated to the Julian Family by Tiberius, like that to King Tatius by Romulus. Four months were not yet elapsed since the victory for Vitellius was gained, and already his manumised slave Asiaticus was come to equal the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and all former Imperial Freedmen, by whatever other names long since known and abhorred. In that court no man strove to rise by virtue or ability. One only road there was to power, namely, by the means of consuming banquets, by
extravagant

extravagant expences and efforts in beastly luxury, thus, to gorge the appetites of Vitellius, ever craving, and never satiated. He, who judged it sufficient to enjoy present pleasure, and troubled himself with no deliberations about concerns future, is believed in so very few months, to have scattered in prodigality near thirty millions of crowns. The City, so mighty and so miserable, in the space of one year, bore the burden of Otho and of Vitellius; and, between such sons of wickedness as Vinus, Fabius, Icelus, and Asiaticus, subsisted under a lot disgraceful and various, till to them succeeded Mucianus and Marcellus, and, in truth, rather different men than different measures.

The first revolt declared to Vitellius was, that of the third Legion, by letters from Aponius Saturninus, dispatched before he too had joined the party of Vespasian. Yet neither had Aponius transmitted all and the worst, as he himself was struck with dismay upon a turn so violent and sudden; and the Emperor's friend soothing him with flattery, softened the ill tidings with constructions overstrained and unfavourable, 'That it was no more than an insurrection of a single Legion; in all the rest of the armies firm faith was found.' Vitellius too in his speech to the soldiers reasoned in the same strain, and inveighed again the Prætorians lately discharged; 'As by them, he asserted, lying rumours were published, and that there was no ground to fear a civil war.' The name of Vespasian he took care to suppress; and all over the City soldiers were roaming, with directions to silence the bruitings amongst the populace: A precaution which proved the chief incentive to augment the public rumour.

From Germany, however, from Britain and both Spains, he sent for succours; but in a manner negligent

negligent and slow, as he studied to conceal the necessity which pressed him. Neither in the Provinces, and Commanders of the Provinces, was there found less remissness and lingering. In Germany Hordeonius Flaccus, who already suspected that by the Batavians rebellious designs were entertained, was thence solicitous about a war which threatened himself; as was Vettius Bolanus about the posture of Britain, a country never settled in perfect composure: and in truth both Flaccus and Bolanus were wavering in their views. Nor in Spain was any forwardness or expedition shewn. Over it there then presided no ruler of Consular dignity. The Commanders of the three Legions there, men equal in authority, and such as during the prosperity of Vitellius would have contended for priority in acts of submission and observance, equally concurred to desert his falling fortune. In Africa the Legion and Cohorts levied by Clodius Macer, and anon by Galba discharged, upon orders from Vitellius returned to the service: The youth too of the Province offered themselves to be enlisted, with signal alacrity. For with great uprightness and popular favour had Vitellius ruled as Proconsul there; as had Vespasian in the same quality with ignominy and public hate. From hence our allies drew their conjectures concerning the reign of each; but the same were falsified by trial.

Moreover Valerius Festus, Governor of the Province, promoted the zeal and inclinations of the people, with exemplary fidelity at the beginning: In a short space he began to halt, and whilst to the eye of the public, he in letters and edicts asserted the cause of Vitellius, he by secret intelligence encouraged Vespasian; like a man who whether this or that side prevailed, was resolved to maintain the justice of the stronger. Certain soldiers and centurions as they passed through Rhætia and the Regions

ons of Gaul, with letters and edicts from Vespasian were seized and carried to Vitellius, who doomed them to execution. A greater number, concealed by faithful friends, or by artifices of their own, escaped detection. Thus all the measures and dispositions of Vitellius came to be daily known, whilst the counsels and schemes of Vespasian remained, for the most part, undiscovered, at first through the sloth and improvidence of Vitellius, and afterwards the guards posted upon the Pannonian Alps obstructed the arrival of intelligence. The sea too, by the constant blowing of the Etesian wind, afforded a favourable passage to the east, but denied one from thence.

At last, upon the irruption of the enemy into the boundaries of Italy, dismal advices on all hands arriving, thoroughly alarmed him, and he ordered Cæcina and Valens to prepare to take the field. As Valens, who had just then arisen from a severe sickness, was staid by weakness, Cæcina was sent forward. The appearance of the German army, so awful upon its late entry, proved far different upon this its departure: No robustness in their bodies, no vigour in their souls, their march lazy and slow, their ranks open and thin, their arms untrimmed and loosely borne, their horses foggy and lifeless; the men grown too delicate to bear the sun, or dust or weather, and the more listless to labour they were, the greater propensity they had to disobedience and mutiny. To the rest must be added the qualities of Cæcina their Commander, the arts by him long since practised to court and humour the soldiery, with his indolence lately acquired, like one by the overflowing benignity of fortune quite unbent to excess and riot. Or perhaps having already conceived designs of treason and desertion, it was an effort of his policy to break the spirit and bravery of the army. Very many

many believed that, through the address and intrigues of Flavius Sabinus, and by the interagency of Rubrius Gallus, the mind of Cæcina came to be shaken, under assurances that, whatever stipulations were made previous to his changing of sides, Vespasian should confirm. He was likewise reminded of his old jealousy and hate towards Fabius Valens, that being unequal to him in favour with Vitellius, it behoved him to think of earning betimes countenance and authority from the new Prince.

Cæcina, after Vitellius had embraced and dismissed him with high marks of honour, departed from Rome, sent forward part of the Cavalry, to possess themselves of Cremona. Anon followed the Vexillaries of the * fourteenth and sixteenth Legions; next the fifth and the twenty-second Legions. The rear of the host was composed of the one and twentieth, surnamed *Rapax*, and of the first, called *Italica*, accompanied by the Vexillaries of the three British Legions, and a chosen band of Auxiliaries. After the departure of Cæcina, Fabius Valens wrote to those forces which he had been wont to lead, ‘To stay their march and await his coming; for that thus it had been settled between him and Cæcina.’ The latter, who was present amongst them, and thence his words of more weight with them, feigned to them, ‘That this counsel had been since changed, on design that with the whole might of all their forces, they might be ready to sustain a terrible war just impending.’ He therefore ordered the Legions to advance with dispatch to Cremona, and some part to repair to Hostilia. He himself turned away to Ravenna, under colour of conferring with the Fleet. Anon he proceeded to Pavia,

* Here seems to be a mistake, which the Commentators have not with any certainty removed.

via, as a secret scene proper for concerting the measures of treason. For, Lucilius Bassus, who from the command of a squadron of horse had been by Vitellius preferred at once to that of the two Fleets, one at Ravenna, the other at Misenum, because he was not presently appointed Captain of the Prætorian Guards, revenged his unreasonable animosity by detestable treachery. Nor can any certainty be had, whether he drew Cæcina into his own guilt, or whether the same pravty of spirit prompted both; an event usual amongst wicked men, who being wicked, are alike. In accounting for this their revolt, the historians of the time have assigned motives apparently devised to flatter the Flavian Family, under whom they composed the relation of this war; namely, ‘That Bassus and Cæcina were guided by a sincere concern for public peace, and affection for the Commonwealth.’ It is my own opinion, that, besides the temper of the men, naturally light and unsteady, besides their utter contempt of faith and conscience, after they had once betrayed their trust to Galba, they were likewise instigated by jealousy and despite, and that, rather than others should surpass them in interest with Vitellius, they would overthrow Vitellius himself.

Cæcina having rejoined the Legions, employed many and various devices to seduce and alienate the affections of the Centurions and common soldiers, of themselves strongly devoted to Vitellius. By Bassus, who was engaged in the same task, smaller difficulty was found; as the Fleet, who remembered how lately they had served under Otho, were very supple to abandon their faith to Vitellius.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K III.

The S U M M A R Y.

The Forces of Vespasian, at the instigation of Antonius Primus, and under his leading, arrive in Italy. Military transactions in several places, and some light encounters. The Fleet at Ravenna revolts to Vespasian. Cæcina discovers his treasonable purposes, but is seized and imprisoned by his own soldiers. The battle at Bedriacum; the army of Vitellius overthrown, yet, strengthened by the accession of fresh Legions, renew the battle, even in the night, but are again overcome. The Camp at Cremona assaulted, at last taken by storm. The great slaughter there. Cremona itself sacked and burnt down. Vitellius the while drowned in luxury; his feats of cruelty: he orders Publius Sabinus to be put in bonds, Junius Blæsus to be slain. Fabius Valens advances against Antonius, but learns the late overthrow, and flies attended only by a few; he is taken at sea.

Commo-

Commutations in Britain, in Germany, in Dacia. Vespasian's Generals march towards Rome. Vitellius orders the passes of the Appennine to be guarded, but anon, weary of the war, makes a treaty of pacification with Sabinus, Vespasian's brother. The treaty broken by the violence of the German soldiers: They force Sabinus to seek refuge in the Capitol, besiege him there, storm the Capitol, and burn it to ashes. The exploits of Lucius Vitellius, the Emperor's brother, in Campania. The whole Forces of Vespasian arrive at Rome; which, after much resistance and many encounters, they enter: The terrible havock and licentiousness which ensue. The tragical death of Vitellius. These transactions all of the same Year.

WITH fortune more propitious and greater fidelity did the Leaders for Vespasian's party pursue their measures for war. At Petovio, the winter quarters of the thirteenth Legion, they met for consultation, and there deliberated, 'Whether to content themselves with only guarding the passes of the Pannonian Alps, till their forces from all quarters behind them had advanced in a body to join them; or, by a resolution more daring, march forward and venture a struggle for Italy.' They who held it adviseable to await the arrival of succours, and to protract the war, magnified 'the might and renown of the German Legions. Moreover there had since arrived with Vitellius the chief strength of the army in Britain. With themselves they had a smaller number of Legions; these Legions were lately routed, and though in words they were undaunted and terrible, yet still in men once vanquished less bravery was found. But by securing the Alps, they should have leisure to expect Mucianus advancing with the bands of the East. To Vespasian there would still remain the command of the Sea, of
' Fleets,

‘ Fleets, and of the Provinces, all affectionate to
‘ his cause; a source whence he might raise mate-
‘ rials ample enough even for another and a fresh
‘ war. Thus, by a prudent and salutary delay,
‘ new forces would certainly accrue, and of the
‘ former none would be lost.”

In answer to these reasonings, Antonius Primus (who in truth from the beginning had with infinite ardour incited the war) argued, ‘ That to
‘ themselves dispatch was altogether advantageous,
‘ and only pernicious to Vitellius. A greater share
‘ of sloth and indolence had possessed the conquer-
‘ ors, than of valour and ferocity; as men no
‘ longer inured to the regularity of a camp and
‘ prepared for feats of war, but separated all over
‘ the great Towns of Italy, resigned to idleness
‘ and ease, and dreadful to none but their hosts.
‘ Nay, the more furious and stern they formerly
‘ had been, with the more greediness they swal-
‘ lowed pleasures so ravishing and new. More-
‘ over, by haunting Theatres and the Circus, and
‘ following the delightful pastimes at Rome, they
‘ were utterly softened and debauched, or by dis-
‘ eases utterly wasted. But, were time allowed
‘ them, their ancient vigour would return, by
‘ their applications to the cares and pursuits of war.
‘ Not far from them lay Germany, from whence
‘ a sure recruit of forces; beyond the Channel,
‘ Britain; just by, France; as also both Spains;
‘ from all a ready supply of men, and horses, and
‘ contributions; Italy too itself in their possession,
‘ with the immense treasures of Rome. And
‘ should they resolve, for prevention, to recur to
‘ offensive arms, they were furnished with two
‘ fleets, and the Illyrian sea was open. What
‘ would then avail the streights and defence of
‘ the mountains? What the protracting of the war
‘ till another summer? Where, in the interval,
‘ was

‘ was money to be had, where provisions? Doubtless, much better it were to improve the occasion presented by the soldiery; for that the Pannonian Legions, who had been deceived rather than vanquished, were impatient to signalize their vengeance; and with them the armies of Mœsia had brought forces diminished by no defeat. If upon the number of men straits were to be laid, rather than upon the number of Legions, in this host was to be found superior strength, nothing dissolute, and, from a sense of disgrace, discipline amended. The horse, in truth, were not even then defeated, but, though the issue proved unfortunate, had routed the cavalry of Vitellius. Yes, two Squadrons from Pannonia and Mœsia, in that fight, pierced quite through the ranks of the enemy. At present were united the banners of sixteen squadrons; a body who with the very cloud raised by them, will not fail to overwhelm and cover yonder troops of horsemen and their horses, both become unacquainted with feats of war. The same measures which I advise if I am not restrained, I will pursue. You who are yet free to follow fortune on either side, stay and with you detain the Legions. To me a few Cohorts lightly equipt will be sufficient. Anon you will hear that I have opened my way into Italy, and shaken the power of Vitellius. You will then be glad to follow, and travel in the track of one who had conquered for you.’

These and the like strains he uttered with eyes darting fire, with a voice fierce and vehement, to be thence further heard, (for into the Council the Centurions and several soldiers had conveyed themselves) and with such effect, that he moved and influenced even such as were most cautious and provident. The crowd and the rest loaded him with praises,

praises, and scorning the resolutions of the others as cold and spiritless, extolled him as the only brave man, the only vigorous leader. This renown of his he first acquired in the late military assembly, where the letters from Vespasian were publicly recited. For, there he reasoned not, like most others, in a stile equivocal and obscure, with intent to wrest the interpretation hither and thither, as interest should require : He appeared to have fallen into the subject of debate with openness of expression, free from all disguise, and hence became more acceptable to the soldiers, since he thus offered himself as a sharer in their lot, whether of guilt or of glory.

The second to him, in authority, was Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator. He too was wont to treat Vitellius with implacable invectives, and therefore had left himself no room for hope upon ill success. Titus Ampius Flavianus, a man both by nature and old age slow and irresolute, provoked the suspicion of the soldiers, as if too he well remembered his affinity with Vitellius ; as likewise, for that having upon the first uproar of the Legions betaken himself to flight, and then of his own mere motion returned, he was believed to watch an occasion for executing some traiterous purpose. For, Flavianus, after deserting Pannonia, and arriving in Italy at a distance from hazard, gave way to a passion for public innovations ; whence he was prompted to resume the command of Lieutenant General, and to embroil himself in the strife of civil arms. He was excited by the persuasions of Cornelius Fuscus, out of no need that he had of any vigour which was in Flavianus, but only for the lustre of a Consular name, as an honourable pretence to recommend a party, just labouring to rise.

Now to render the march into Italy secure and successful, letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus,

to

to follow in haste, with his army from Mœsia. And that the Provinces thus bereft of their armies, might not lie exposed to the inroads of the barbarous nations adjoining, the Chiefs of the people Jazyges (a nation of the Sarmatæans) that is, those amongst them who sway their Community, were taken into a fellowship in the war, and retained in pay. They also offered their populace to the service, and their power of horse, in which only their whole force lies. This civility was rejected, lest whilst we were engaged in struggles at home, they should undertake to assail us from without, or perhaps upon larger reward from the opposite side, renounce all regard to trust and obligation. Into the party were drawn Sido and Italicus, Kings of the Suevians, noted for their long reverence and constant duty to the Romans; as their people too were more observant of their plighted faith. On the side towards Rhætia guards of Auxiliaries were posted, as a country breathing great hostility to the cause, and under the Government of Portius Septimius the Procurator, a man in his fidelity to Vitellius stedfast and incorruptible. Sextilius Felix was therefore sent away with the Squadron of horse stiled *Auriana*, eight Cohorts, and the youth of Noricum under arms, to possess himself of the bank of the Oenus, a river flowing between Rhætia and Noricum. But, while neither side would venture an engagement, the grand competition was determined elsewhere.

Whilst Antonius, with great dispatch, conducted a body of Vexiliaries taken from the Cohorts, and part of the horse, to invade Italy, he was accompanied by Arius Varus, an officer signal for bravery in war; which renowned character he derived from having served under Corbulo, and been engaged in the successful achievements of that great Captain in Armenia. The same man was said, in secret conferences

conferences with Nero to have accused Corbulo, and blackened his merit and great qualities. Hence by favour infamously gained, he rose to the rank of a principal Centurion; a promotion which for the present proved matter of joy, but as it was wickedly obtained, turned afterwards to his overthrow. Now Antonius and Varus, when once they had taken possession of Aquileia, were admitted into all the neighbouring Towns, and particularly received at Opertergion and Altinum, with many demonstrations of joy. In Altinum, a garriſon was left to oppose the Fleet at Ravenna; for of its revolt news were not yet arrived. Then they strengthened their party with the addition of Padua and Ateste. There they learnt that three Cohorts of Vitellius, with the Squadron of horse called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at Forum Alienum, and were posted there. To assail this band, lying void of circumspection (for this too was reported) the opportunity was gladly taken. At the dawn of day they suddenly encountered and subdued them, most of them unarmed. Previous orders had been given to the assailants, to content themselves with the slaughter of a few, and by a terror to constrain the rest to exchange their allegiance. There were indeed some who instantly surrendered: The greater part, by flying and breaking the bridge, escaped the violence of the foe.

After the victory was grown public, and as to the party of Vespasian the first actions of the war had proved prosperous, there arrived at Padua two Legions, both zealous for that cause, the seventh surnamed *Galbiana*, with the thirteenth named *Gemina*, and Veditius Aquila its Commander. There a few days were allowed for repose: The while, Minucius Justus, Camp Marshal of the seventh Legion, was sent away to Vespasian, and thus snatched from the fury of the soldiers, for that he exerted

exerted an authority over them more rigorous than suited with a civil war. Antonius at this time accomplished a thing, which having been long wished, was through popular construction heightened into a feat of high glory, by causing the Statues of Galba, which by the violence and vicissitude of the times had been thrown down, to be restored to their wonted place and reverence in all the municipal Cities. For he judged that by appearing to approve the reign of Galba, and to countenance the revival of his party, credit would be derived upon his own.

It was then examined, which was the most proper place for the seat of war; and Verona was preferred, as it was situated amongst spacious plains, fit for encounters of horse, in which their prime force lay: Besides it was deemed an exploit of notable advantage and renown, to deprive Vitellius of a Colony so powerful and opulent. In their march they became masters of Vicetia; an acquisition which, though small in itself, (for it is a City of mean force) passed for one of mighty moment, when it was considered that in it Cæcina was born, and from the General of the enemy the place of his nativity was snatched. The possession of Verona was a valuable prize, and by its wealth and example strengthened the party. Moreover, by this situation, the army having hemmed in Rhætia and the Julian Alps, had precluded all accession of forces from Germany: Measures which to Vespasian were either not known, or by him forbidden; for he ordered, that beyond Aquileia, no efforts of war should be made, but there the coming of Mucianus be expected. To his authority he added reasoning, ' That since Egypt, since the magazines for supplying Italy with provision, since the revenues of the most opulent provinces, were all under his power; the army of Vitellius, through want of grain

‘ grain and pay, might be constrained to come over.’ Mucianus, in repeated letters, urged the same counsels, contending for ‘ a victory void of slaughter, and exempt from tears and sorrow;’ with the like false colourings, but in reality from a passion for gaining all the glory, and studying to reserve for himself the intire honour of the war. But, from quarters of the world so remote these counsels arrived after the affairs were determined.

Antonius therefore, making an excursion extremely sudden, assaulted the quarters of the enemy; where having in a light encounter tried their vigour, they parted on both sides upon equal terms. In a short space, Cæcina pitched his camp between Hostilia, a village in the territory of Verona, and the marshes of the river Tartatus; secure in his situation, as behind he was defended by the river, on each side by the marsh. What he wanted was fidelity; else it was in his power, with the whole forces of Vitellius under his command, either to have utterly overwhelmed such a small band as two Legions, or driven them back gain, and forced them to abandon Italy by a shameful flight. But Cæcina framing manifold delays, traiterously sacrificed to the enemy the first season and opportunities of fighting; continuing by letters to reprimand them, when by arms it was easy to have routed them; till by the intercourse of messengers he had settled the stipulations of his disloyalty. In the mean time arrived Aponius Saturninus with the seventh Legion, named *Claudiana*. Over the Legion there commanded Vipstanius Messalla, in quality of Tribune, a man sprung from a race signally noble, in his own person illustrious, and the only one who upon worthy designs engaged in that war. To these forces, no-wise equal to those of Vitellius, (for as yet they were no more than three Legions) Cæcina sent letters. In them he condemned their
rashness,

rashness, that men just vanquished should again venture upon arms. The bravery of the German army he displayed in high flights of praise. His expressions of Vitellius were scanty and no other than common; and against Vespasian not a contumelious word was dropt. In conclusion, nothing was said tending either to tempt the enemy, or to terrify them. In answer, the Leaders of Vespasian's forces, without excusing their past conduct and fortune, mentioned Vespasian in strains very high and swelling, expressed mighty assurance in their cause, declared themselves secure of the issue, and treated Vitellius in the stile of enemies avowed. To the Tribunes and Centurions they gave room to hope, that whatever favours they had received from Vitellius they should still retain; and, in terms sufficiently plain, exhorted Cæcina to desert. In a public assembly of the soldiers both letters were recited, and served to heighten their confidence, since Cæcina had written in language so submissive, like one under awe of Vespasian; and their own Generals in a stile of scorn, with bold and open insults upon Vitellius.

Upon the arrival, thereafter, of two Legions, the third led by Duillius Aponianus, the eighth by Numisius Lupis, it was judged proper, to make a display of their forces, and to draw an entrenchment round Verona. As it fell to the Legion named *Galbiana* to work upon the quarter fronting the opposite camp, the sight of some horse of their own, mistaken at a distance for the enemy, filled them with pannic fear. In an instant they grasped their arms, and particularly against Titus Ampius Flavianus, whom they now charged as a traitor, the wrath of the soldiers raged, from no indication of guilt; but, as they had long since borne him mortal rancour, his bloody doom was demanded with an uproar, like that of a tempest. In vehement

and repeated clamours they accused him, ‘ as the
‘ kinsman of Vitellius, a traitor to Otho, and guilty
‘ of appropriating to himself the donative intended
‘ for them.’ Liberty for defence there was none,
though in the posture of a suppliant he implored it,
with his hands humbly extended, prostrating him-
self again and again, his garments rent, his face
convulsed, and his bosom heaving with the emoti-
ons of anguish. To men thus enraged, even this
his woe, proved a fresh incentive, as if by dread so
excessive he bewrayed his guilt. Aponius, as he at-
tempted to speak, was silenced by the cries of the
soldiers. In clamours too, and fierce noise they
refused to hear the rest. To Antonius only their
ears were found open: For, besides the talent of
eloquence, and his arts in soothing a multitude, he
was withal of great weight and estimation amongst
them. He, when the sedition was grown extreme
and tragical, and from bitter words and revilings
they proceeded to deeds of violence and the sword,
ordered Flavianus to be cast into irons. The sol-
diers perceived the evasion, and forcing away such
as guarded the Tribunal, were about to perpetrate
the murder. Antonius opposed them with his
sword drawn, with protestations that he himself
would first perish by their hands or his own; and
where-ever he espied any particular men known to
him, or distinguished by the ornaments of their
station in the army, all such he called by name to
assist him. Then turning towards the Ensigns and
military Deities, he besought them, ‘ That upon the
‘ armies of their enemies they would rather pour
‘ that blind fury, and that spirit of dissention.’
By this means the sedition came to subside, and the
day now closing, they all dropped off to their several
tents. That very night Flavianus departed, and,
on his way to Vespasian, met letters from him,
such as left him no longer any cause to fear.

The

The Legions, as if they had run mad with some infectious frenzy, next assailed Aponius Saturninus, General of the forces from Mœsia, with outrage the more implacable, for that they began not as before, when fatigued with the toil and duty of the day, but burst into this insurrection at noon, provoked by certain letters dispersed abroad, which Saturninus was believed to have written to Vitellius. As amongst the soldiers of old, to surpass each other in modesty and feats of valour was their only contention, they at this time vied in impudence and mutinies: Hence they resolved, that they would demand the execution of Aponius with no less boldness and violence than they had that of Flavianus. For, as the Mœsian Legions urged, that in procuring vengeance to the Pannonians, they themselves had assisted; and, as the Pannonian Legions appeared to think, that by the sedition of others their own was obliterated; both rejoiced in repeating their guilt. To the gardens where Saturninus was retired, they straight proceed: Nor to Antonius, nor to Aponianus nor, to Messalla, though they used every effort, did he so much owe his deliverance as to a hiding place singularly obscure, by having conveyed himself into the furnaces of some baths by chance not then used. Anon having dismissed his Lictors, he retired to Padua. When the Leaders of Consular name were withdrawn, to Antonius alone remained the power and sway over both armies, by the concession of his equals, the other Commanders of Legions, and by the bent and partiality of the soldiers. Neither were there wanting those who believed both these seditions to have been moved by the intrigues of Antonius, that upon himself alone might devolve the glory and emoluments of the war.

Neither in the part of Vitellius were their spirits found more pacific, and composed; nay, amongst
K 2 them

them prevailed convulsions more fatal, as their disorders arose not from suspicions harboured by the crowd, but from the infidelity of their Leaders. The Marines at Ravenna, already wavering in their inclinations, as the greater part were natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, (provinces engaged to Vespasian) were gained over to his party by the influence of Lucilius Bassus, Commander of the Fleet at that City. For the execution of the treason the night was chosen, that the authors of the revolt only might, unknown to the rest, assemble in the quarters of arms. Bassus, whether he were ashamed, or whether he feared what the issue might prove, awaited the success privately at home. The Captains of the Gallies fell upon the images of Vitellius, demolishing them with terrible uproar, and after some few who resisted were slaughtered, the rest of the crowd, from fondness for public changes espoused the cause of Vespasian. Then went forth Lucilius, and publicly owned that from his counsels and orders the defection had sprung. The Fleet for their Commander chose Cornelius Fuscus, who made quick dispatch thither. Bassus, under custody, but honourably treated, was conveyed by some light vessels to Hadria, and by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded a Squadron in garrison there, thrown into bonds, but presently released upon the arrival of Hormus, Freedman to Vespasian: For, he too was considered in the rank of General Officers.

Cæcina, when he found that the revolt of the Navy was divulged, assembled in the quarter of arms all the principal Centurions and a small number of common soldiers, whilst the rest were dispersed upon the several duties of the service; for, he warily chose the season of most solitude in the camp. He there extolled ‘ the magnanimity of Vespasian, and the power of his party. The Fleet,
‘ the

‘ the magazine of provisions, was revolted; both
‘ Spains, and all the Gauls, were enemies declar-
‘ ed; upon Rome, where nothing was found, there
‘ could be no reliance:’ with the like representations
concerning Vitellius, all in the worst colours. He
then forthwith gave them the oath to Vespasian,
and they who were his accomplices setting an ex-
ample, the rest, astonished and disconcerted by an
event so sudden and strange, took it after them. At
the same instant the Images of Vitellius were pulled
down and defaced, and messengers dispatched to ac-
quaint Antonius with the whole. But as soon as
through the whole camp news of the defection were
spread, the soldiers flocked to the quarter of arms;
and, as they beheld the name of Vespasian set up,
the effigies of Vitellius flung down, the first effect
of their surprize was a silence altogether profound
and universal; then, in a moment, there burst out,
as from one mouth, a torrent of resentment and
expostulations. ‘ Was the glory of the German
‘ Army fallen thus low, that without fighting a
‘ battle, without receiving a wound, they should
‘ yield their hands to be bound, like men vanquish-
‘ ed, or surrender their arms like captives? For in
‘ truth what Legions had they to dread? were they
‘ not the Legions already routed? and even from
‘ these were wanting the first and the fourteenth,
‘ who constituted the only strength of Otho’s ar-
‘ my, yet whom, in the same field, they had rout-
‘ ed and overthrown: that thence they themselves,
‘ yea, so many thousand men so brave and armed,
‘ might now be presented to Antonius, a fugitive
‘ and exile, like a drove of slaves exposed to sale in
‘ a market: As if eight Legions were to accrue as
‘ succours, to a single Fleet. Such was the good
‘ pleasure of Bassus, such that of Cæcina; that
‘ after they had divested the Emperor of his houses,
‘ of his gardens, of his treasures, they would also di-

‘ vest him of his soldiers, though in their force
‘ not impaired, in their persons no wise maimed,
‘ but in full vigour; thus to be rendered despi-
‘ cable even in the eyes of Vespasian’s party. To
‘ such as should thereafter ask them either con-
‘ cerning their exploits and success, or their losses
‘ and disasters, what answer should they be able
‘ to make?’ These were the cries of each, these
the cries of the whole, all fiercely uttered, suit-
ably to the indignation felt by each particular.
And with the fifth Legion who began, the rest read-
ily concurred, in replacing the images of Vitel-
lius, and putting Cæcina in irons. For their Lea-
ders they chose Fabius Fabullus, Commander of
the fifth Legion, and Cassius Longus, Camp Mar-
shal. Certain Marines belonging to the three light
Gallies, they butchered; men unapprized of what
had passed, free from guilt or design, and only
through hazard falling in their way. They relin-
quished their camp, and breaking the bridge, march-
ed back again to Hostilia, from thence to Cremona,
there to rejoin the first Legion named *Italica*,
and the one and twentieth surnamed *Rapax*, which
Cæcina had sent forward with part of the cavalry to
take possession of Cremona.

When these transactions were known to Anto-
nius, he resolved forthwith to attack the enemy
thus raging with animosities, and divided in their
forces, ere the Leaders had recovered authority, the
soldiers their discipline and disobedience, or the
Legions spirit and boldness by uniting. For he
imagined that Fabius Valens must ere now have left
Rome, and would upon learning the desertion of
Cæcina, travel with great celerity. Moreover Fa-
bius bore firm faith to Vitellius, and was no novice
in war. Besides, it was feared that a huge host of
Germans were advancing through Rætia; and
Vitellius had ordered succours to repair out of Bri-
tain,

tain, and Gaul, and Spain; the whole a source of war terrible and consuming, had not Antonius, in dread of this very thing, by hastening to engage, anticipated the victory. With his whole army he marched from Verona, and the next evening encamped at Bedriacum. The day following, he sent abroad his auxiliary Cohorts into the territories of Cremona, that under colour of supplying the army with provisions, they might become hardened in the practice of civil plunder. The Legions were detained the while, to fortify the camp. He himself at the head of four thousand horse, travelled eight miles from Bedriacum, thence to afford the Cohorts greater security and latitude in their ravages. The scouts, according to custom, were at a greater distance, intent upon discoveries.

It was now about the fifth hour of the day, when there arrived one upon a fleet horse, with tidings, 'that the enemy approached; before the rest a small band advanced; and, on every side was heard the agitation and tumult of their march.' Whilst Antonius was concerting what measures to take, Arrius Varus forward to acquit himself a notable champion, rushed out with a party of the resolute horse, and routed the front of the enemy, yet with small slaughter; since, as there flew many to support their fellows, the fortune of the encounter changed, and whoever had been keenest in pursuing, proved only the last in flying. Nor indeed was this hasty step taken by the approbation of Antonius, who judged that the issue would be such as it happened. He now exhorted those about him, to prepare with undaunted spirit for battle, and posting his troops upon each hand, left a passage between for the reception of Varus and his horsemen. To the Legions orders were dispatched to arm: Over the country notice to the Cohorts was every where given, to quit their pillage, and hasten

the several nearest ways to the combat. Varus in the mean time, in terrible affright, had conveyed himself into the thickest of his band, and upon them brought general dread. Thus they who were routed, not the wounded only but such as had received no hurt, were all miserably struggling under their own fears, and with ways strait and obstructed.

No part belonging to the duty of an undaunted commander or to that of a most courageous soldier, did Antonius omit during this consternation. Such as were dismayed he animated, such as had recoiled he stayed. Where-ever the greatest efforts were required, where-ever any hope was presented, he readily assisted, here with counsel and orders, there with his sword; to the enemy remarkable by his voice, to his own soldiers manifest in person. At last to such a degree of fervour he was transported, that with his javelin he transfixed a standard-bearer who was flying, and seizing the standard, with it instantly confronted the foe. An hundred, and no more, struck with shame to desert their General, returned to the fight. From the place where they fought they drew their advantage and relief; for the way was but narrow, and the river too running behind (now that the bridge was broken) by its high banks and uncertain depth, interrupted the flight. This necessity or perhaps fortune, restored the forces of Vespasian just sinking under a defeat. Firmly compacted together, they sustained, with ranks close and impenetrable, the assaults of Vitellius his men, who pouring in, like a rash and disorderly multitude, were instantly repulsed and dismayed. Antonius urged their disorder, pursued the discomfited, broke and overthrew such as stood. The rest, the while, betook themselves to plunder, to make captives, or to seize horses and arms, just as their several inclinations prompted them. Such too were the shouts of joy as to reach those
whom

whom fear and flight had just before scattered over the country; and they now returned to share in the victory.

Four miles from Cremona were descried the resplendent Eagles of two Legions, *Rapax* and *Italica*. Thus far they had come, encouraged by the success of their cavalry, who, in the first encounter had proved victorious. But when fortune changed, they would not open their ranks, would not afford reception to their unfortunate friends, beaten, and flying; would not advance towards the enemy, nor take the opportunity of falling upon forces spent with fighting and long pursuit; an opportunity which probably might have rendered them victorious. In truth, during prosperity they perceived not so sensibly the use of a General, as in adversity that they wanted him. Upon this body already fluctuating and irresolute, the conquering cavalry made an onset, supported by Vipstanus Messalla with the Auxiliaries from Mœsia, who, however suddenly they had been levied, were in feats of war deemed equal to the soldiers of the Legions. Moreover the neighbouring walls of Cremona, the surer hopes of refuge they yielded them, left them so much the less spirit to maintain the conflict.

Neither did Antonius further urge his victory: He was mindful of the condition of his men and horses, wasted with heavy fatigue, and afflicted with many wounds, in a battle which, however successful in the issue, had proved so doubtful and perilous. In the close of the evening arrived the whole power of Vespasian's army. As they marched over hills of slain, and through the monuments and traces of a carnage so recent, they concluded the war to be completely finished, and insisted to be led directly to Cremona, either to bring these vanquished forces to surrender, or to force the place. This

was the plausible language which they used openly : But privately every particular reasoned with himself in the terms following ; ‘ That the City as, ‘ it was situated in a plain, might be taken by ‘ storm. In forcing an entrance in the dark, they ‘ should be prompted with the same resolution, and ‘ have greater latitude for spoiling. Now if they ‘ awaited the return of day, presently supplications ‘ would be offered, presently peace would be accepted ; and for their toils and wounds they ‘ should only reap renown and the praise of clemency, barren gratifications ; but to the Commanders of Legions and principal Officers would accrue the wealth of Cremona : Since to the soldiers belonged the plunder of a town taken by the sword, as to the Leaders, when gained by surrender.’ The authority of their Tribunes and Centurions they utterly slighted ; and to drown the voice of any one who offered to reason with them, they thundered with their arms, ready to renounce all command unless they were forthwith led on.

Antonius having now conveyed himself into the crowd, after he had by his presence and authority procured silence, declared, ‘ That of no part of their ‘ glory, of no part of their recompence sought he ‘ to deprive men so well deserving : but between ‘ an army and its Leaders the duties were shared ‘ and distinct. To the soldiers it appertained to ‘ dare danger, to long for the combat. The Generals shewed their excellence in providing against ‘ exigencies, in concerting judicious measures ; nay, ‘ oftener by patience and procrastination, than by ‘ haste and hazard, their success was obtained. As ‘ he had, at the peril of his life, and by the dint of ‘ his sword, promoted the late victory with all his ‘ might, he was ready to contribute the assistance
‘ of

‘ of his counsels and opinion; parts essential to a
‘ General. In truth, the difficulties to be en-
‘ countered, admitted no question or doubt; name-
‘ ly the night, the unknown situation of the city,
‘ the enemy masters of it on all hands opportuni-
‘ ties for circumvention and ambush. Enter, in
‘ truth, they ought not, even though the gate were
‘ thrown open, even though it were full day, till
‘ after sure search and intelligence. Would they
‘ indeed begin the assault, while yet bereft of light,
‘ to discover where lay the most easy and accessi-
‘ ble places, or what was the height of the walls?’
‘ Or before it was determined whether the city
‘ were to be attacked by missile engines and flights
‘ of darts, or by works and machines for battery?’
Then turning round to particulars, he enquired
of each, ‘ If with him he had brought a hatchet,
‘ a pick-ax, and other utensils for besieging towns?
As they owned that they had not; he cried,
‘ With swords and spears alone can any hands pos-
‘ sibly break through and overthrow City walls?
‘ Should we be constrained to throw up a rampart;
‘ should it prove necessary to shelter ourselves un-
‘ der pent-houses of boards, and sheds of hurdles:
‘ must we not, in such distress, remain like the
‘ vulgar herd, ever thoughtless and improvident,
‘ impotently staring at the lofty towers and strong
‘ bulwarks of our enemies? Better it is to delay
‘ for one night; and when our warlike engines and
‘ machines are brought, carry with us power and
‘ victory.’

At the same instant he dispatched to Bedriacum
the attendants and followers of the camp, accom-
panied by the freshest of the cavalry, to bring a
supply of provisions, with whatever else the present
exigency required. As the soldiers could not bear
this but with impatience and regret, an insurrection
was just beginning, when some horsemen, who
had

had advanced close to the walls of Cremona, seized certain stragglers from thence. By them a discovery was made, ' That six Legions belonging to Vitellius, and the whole host which had quartered at Hostilia, having learnt the defeat of their fellows, ' had that same day marched thirty miles, and were ' just approaching arrayed for battle.' The minds of the men, otherwise stubborn and ungovernable, upon this terrible alarm, became pliant and open to the counsel of their Commander. The third Legion he ordered to post themselves upon the Posthumian high-way. Adjoining to it, upon the left, stood the seventh, called *Galbiana*, in the plain; next to this the seventh, named *Claudiana*, to which a common ditch, such as the country presented, served for an intrenchment. Upon the right was placed the eighth, in fields open to the great road; then the thirteenth, interspersed in a close copse. Such was the disposition of the several Eagles and Ensigns of the Legions. The soldiers were intermixed in the dark, at the allotment of chance. Next to the third Legion stood the banner of the Prætorians; the auxiliary Cohorts upon the wings; and the Cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. Sido and Italicus from Suevia, at the head of a choice band of their nation, served in the foremost ranks.

Now the army of Vitellius, who in all discretion ought to have rested at Cremona, and having by meat and sleep recovered their vigour, beset the enemy next day, and pushed them to an overthrow, while spent and disabled with cold and fasting; yet, wanting a ruler, and destitute of counsel, about the third hour of the night, rush precipitately upon the forces of Vespasian already prepared and even embattled. Under what form they came on to the assault, I dare not undertake to explain, disordered as it was by darkness and their own rage; though others

others have recounted, that the fourth Legion, named *Macedonica*, occupied the right wing; that the fifth and fifteenth, strengthened with the Vexillaries of the ninth, the second and the twentieth, (all three British Legions) constituted the main battle, and, that the sixteenth, the two and twentieth, and the first, furnished the left wing. The soldiers of those called *Rapax* and *Italica*, had mingled themselves throughout all the companies. The cavalry and auxiliary bands chose their own station. During the whole night the combat held uncertain, shifting, and tragical; now destructive to these, anon to those. Nothing availed bravery, nothing strength, nor, in truth, the eyes, now deprived of discernment. In both hosts the arms were alike, and the watch word of each, by being frequently asked and repeated, became known to the other. Intermingled without distinction were the standards, just as opposite parties could seize them from their enemies, and pull them hither and thither. Most sorely beset was the seventh Legion, one lately inrolled by Galba. Out of it six Centurions of principal rank were slain, and some of the ensigns were taken. The Eagle itself Atilius Verus had preserved; he was chief Centurion, who in its defence slew heaps of the enemy, and at last perished himself.

To his sinking battalions Antonius administered support, by calling to their assistance the body of Prætorians. They at the first encounter repulsed the foe, and anon suffered a repulse. For, the soldiers of Vitellius had now removed their missile engines, and planted them upon the ridge of the Posthumian way, that thence with more room and over the clear fields they might discharge their deadly contents, which before flew at random, and, without annoying the foe, smote the bushes. One of amazing bulk, of the sort called *Balistæ*, be-
longing

longing to the fifteenth Legion, overthrew the enemy's ranks, by pouring upon them massy stones; and destruction more extensive had followed, but for two common soldiers, who adventured upon an exploit of signal renown. From amongst the slain they furnished themselves with shields, and passing undiscovered, cut the ligatures and springs of the engines. They were indeed presently slaughtered, and thence their names have perished: Of the action itself, no doubt is made. To neither side was fortune yet leaning, when the night being well nigh spent, the moon rising presented the contending armies to fight, but deceived the eye. More favourable however she proved to that of Vespasian, as she shone upon their backs; for, against the shadows of the men and horses, thus magnified, as against their real bodies, the darts and arrows of the enemy were deceitfully directed, and fell ere they reached their aim. The bands of Vitellius, who from the reflection in front stood clear in view, were exposed quite defenceless and surprized to be galled by men who thus annoyed them as it were from a hiding place.

Antonius, therefore, now that he could distinguish his own men, and be by them distinguished, set himself to animate them severally by different instigations, some by shame and reproof, many by applause and exhortation, all by hopes and promises. The Legions from Pannonia he asked, 'From what motive they had again betaken themselves to arms? This was the field in which they might obliterate the stain of their former disgrace; here they might recover their glory.' Then turning to those from Mœsia, he roused them, 'As the men who began the revolt, and were the first movers of the war. In vain they had defied the powers of Vitellius with big words and menaces, if they could not bear their looks and blows.' In this manner

manner he reasoned with such as he happened to accost. To the third Legion he discoursed more copiously, and to their memory recalled their feats of renown ancient and late; ‘How under Antony they had overthrown the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians; and not long since discomfited the Sarmatians.’ He next applied, with great warmth to the Prætorians. ‘For you, said he, if you conquer not now, what other General will ever receive you, what other camp will admit you, who are no longer soldiers, but degraded? Yonder amongst the foes are your banners and your arms, and yonder, if you are vanquished, death abides you; for, of your shame you have already seen the end.’ There ensued from every quarter cries and shoutings; and just then the third Legion, according to the Custom in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun.

From this incident a rumour flew, whether fortuitous or contrived by the General, ‘That Mucianus was arrived, and between the armies mutual salutations had passed.’ Instantly they pressed to a closer charge, as if really reinforced by fresh succours. In truth, Vitellius his host were already become looser and disjointed; as men who without a Leader to controul them, closed or opened just as particulars were moved by the impulse of their own duty or fear. When Antonius perceived them disordered and plying, he pushed them vehemently with a strong and condensed band; and their ranks yielding, were utterly broken: nor was it possible to restore them, as they were embarrassed and obstructed by their own carriages and engines. The conquerors too, eager to pursue, covered in parties the whole way. The more signal was this slaughter, for that in it a son slew his father. I shall here recount the fact and the names of the men, as the same are recorded by Vipstanus Messalla. Julius Man-

Manfuetus, a native of Spain, lifting in the Legion called *Rapax*, left behind him at home a son, then a boy, who afterwards growing up, and having been under Galba inrolled in the seventh Legion, happened there to confront his father, and wounded him so that he fell. Whilst he risled this his parent just expiring, he was by him known, and knew him again. He then embraced his pale corse, and with a voice doleful and sad, supplicated the manes of his father 'to be atoned, nor to hold him in 'horror as a parricide; upon the public only 'the crime was to be charged; and in a general 'tumult of civil arms poor and small was the part 'of a single soldier.' He at the same time lifted up the body, digged a grave, and towards his parent discharged the last duty. Such who were nearest observed what passed, as did then many more. Hence through the whole host the wonderful accident flew, with many wailings, and with bitter execration upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous. Yet with never the more reluctance they proceeded first to butcher, then to spoil their kinsmen, their relations, nay, their brethren. They tell what a crying iniquity has been done, and do it.

Upon their approach to Cremona, there presented itself a task altogether new and immense. In the war against Otho, the soldiers from Germany had pitched their camp quite round the walls, and quite round their camp had drawn a great trench: and to this too had since added fresh bulwarks. At sight of all these the conquerors were checked, and hesitated, as in truth their Leaders were unresolved what directions to give. To proceed to the assault with an army already wasted and weary with the continued toils of a day and a night, were an enterprize full of difficulty; and, as no succour or refuge was nigh, it were full of danger. If they should

should return to Bedriacum, intolerable were the fatigue from a journey so long, and vain and abortive would then prove their victory gained. Should they here stay and encamp, this too was a course to be dreaded so near the enemy ; for that by a sudden fall he might attack and distress the men when dispersed and employed in their works. Above all their apprehensions was that administered by their own soldiers, men apter to tempt perils than to bear delays. To them all measures that were safe were distasteful, and in feats of temerity they placed their hopes ; so that for all the slaughter which they suffered, for all their gorings, and their blood spilt, they found full compensation in the lust and fruition of spoil.

To this humour Antonius yielded, and ordered the soldiers, in the form of a ring, to invest the entrenchment for an equal assault. At first the conflict was maintained by distant volleys of stones and arrows ; whence the forest havock fell upon the forces of Vespasian, as against them blows were dealt with force superior from above. Anon he assigned different stations to the several Legions, round the ramparts and against the several gates : that by thus dividing the task into lots the coward might be distinguished from the brave, and a competition for glory animate all. To the third Legion and the seventh belonged the quarter facing the road to Bedriacum ; as did that upon the right hand to the eighth and the seventh, named *Clau-diana*. The ardour of the thirteenth Legion carried them directly to the port towards Brixia. There ensued a short respite, till from the neighbouring fields were brought spades and pickaxes by some, by others hooks and ladders. Then raising their shields over their heads, and thence forming a continued shell, under its shelter they advanced to the foot of the bulwarks. On both sides was
possessed

possessed the military prowess of Romans: The bands of Vitellius hurled down quantities of mighty stones; and as the shell, thus battered, became loose and tottering, with spears and long poles they pierced and rent it, till they had thus quite dissolved the contexture of the shields; then beat to the ground the men beneath, and slaughtered or maimed them with huge havoc.

The onset began to slacken and discontinue, till the Leaders who found the soldiers exhausted, and unmoved by exhortations barren of profit, pointed to Cremona, and offered it as their spoil. Whether by Hormus this device was started, as Messalla recounts, or whether more credit be due to the authority of Caius Plinius, who charges it upon Antonius; is a doubt which I cannot easily clear. I shall only say that, even in this proceeding, horrible as it was, neither did Antonius, nor did Hormus, in the least vary from the course of their past lives and infamy. Thus encouraged, nothing could scare or retard the men; regardless of wounds and blood, they laboured to demolish the rampart, pressed and battered the gates, stood upon the shoulders of one another, climbed upon the shell of shields now restored, and seized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, nay, the hands too which held them. Together headlong tumbled the hale and the maimed, such as were half dead with such as were just dying, and together perished under various forms: So that here, in all its ghastly views, the horrors of death were displayed.

By the seventh Legion and the third, the fiercest conflict was maintained. The General too, Antonius, with a select detachment of Auxiliaries, exerted himself in the same quarter. When the party of Vitellius were no longer able to sustain the shock of men all obstinately combined to succeed or die, and as their discharges from above were all dissipated
by

by the shell of shields below; they at last hurled down upon the assailants the missile engine itself, huge and ponderous as it was. As this failed not to crush and overwhelm those upon whom it fell, so in its own overthrow it involved that of the pinnacles and ridge of the ramparts. At the same instant the tower adjoining yielded to the continual volleys of stone, and fell. Whilst here the seventh Legion, formed into a band sharp in front, strove to enter, the third with their swords and axes broke the gate. That Caius Volusius, a soldier of the third Legion, was the first who forced an entrance, is apparent from the concurrence of all historians. He having mounted the rampart, pushed down all who resisted, and by his hand and his voice manifesting himself to his fellows, cried aloud that the camp was taken. The rest then burst in: for Vitellius his men, now reduced to utter dismay, were already leaping with great hurry from the battlements. With the bodies of the slain was filled the whole space between the camp and Cremona.

Here again was presented a new scene of difficulties and fatigues, the walls of the City mighty and high, strong towers of stone, the gate secured with vast bars of iron, the soldiers already brandishing their instruments of destruction, the inhabitants numerous and devoted to the party of Vitellius, in the town a great part of Italy assembled at the Fair now holden there upon stated days: An incident which to those who defended it yielded matter of succour, because of the multitude; and, to those who attacked it, matter of stimulation, because of the prey. Antonius ordered fire to be immediately set to all the most sumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the City; if peradventure the people of Cremona might, by seeing their possessions destroyed, be induced to change their allegiance. Into such houses as stood near the
walls,

walls, and in height exceeded the battlements, he conveyed all his bravest men, enow to fill the upper stories; from whence with rafters, tiles and flaming torches they drove away all who made opposition.

Already the Legions had compacted and formed themselves into a shell, whilst others were now pouring volleys of stones and darts, when the bravery of the Vitellian bands began by little and little to droop. Each in proportion as he excelled in rank, was forward to yield to fortune: They feared that, were Cremona too once stormed, there would be no longer room for pardon left, and all the fury of the conquerors would recoil, not upon the rabble of soldiers, bare and indigent, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, men whose blood promised booty. The common men, who beyond the present think not, and from the lowness of their lot derive the greater safety, persisted in their opposition. They roved through the streets, or lay retired in the houses, and fought not peace even at a time when they had dropped all efforts of war. The chief officers abolished the name and images of Vitellius: From Cæcina too they removed his bonds (for even then he was under them) and besought him to plead in their behalf for mercy. As he denied their suit, and swelled with haughtiness and scorn, they persevered to importune him with many tears: The last instance surely, and the highest of affliction and abasement, when so many brave men were reduced to supplicate the succour of a traitor. Next they hung from the walls the sacred hoods and veils from the temples; and, when Antonius had ordered all violence to be stayed, they bore forth their Eagles and Banners. After followed the sorrowful host without their arms, and with their eyes fastened to the ground. Around them gathered the conquerors, and at first insulted them with revilings, nay, were near chastising them

them with blows : Yet, as it was perceived how tamely the vanquished presented their persons and faces to all indignities, how they had relinquished all pride and fierceness, and bore with signal patience all their calamities, it began to be remembered, that these were the same men, who having gained the late victory at Bedriacum, had tempered their success with lenity. But as soon as Cæcina approached, arrayed and attended with Lictors and the Robe of State, and passed in the pomp of Consul through a lane purposely made in the throng, rage seized the conquering host. They bitterly upbraided him for his pride, and for his cruelty; nay, such is the abhorrence naturally annexed to deeds of villainy, that they even upbraided him for his revolt. Antonius checked their violence, and furnishing him with a guard, sent him away towards Vespasian.

The populace of Cremona, the while, were sorely oppressed among such a multitude of armed men. They were in truth threatened with a present massacre, till, by the intreaties of the Leaders, the raging soldiers became assuaged. Antonius moreover calling an assembly, made a speech, full of high applauses upon the conquerors, full of gentleness towards the vanquished. To Cremona his expressions boded neither mercy nor wrath. The army, besides their inherent lust of plunder, were stimulated by an old rancour to seek the overthrow of that Colony. The inhabitants were believed, even in the war against Otho, to have supported the cause of Vitellius : Soon after too, when the thirteenth Legion had been left to rear an Amphitheatre there, as the lower Citizens every where have spirits pert and scornful, they of Cremona had with biting and petulant jests constantly provoked and derided the men. To heighten this ill humour and despite, there concurred the late combat of
Gladiators

Gladiators presented there by Cæcina, and that the same place had been now twice the seat of the war, that it had furnished the army of Vitellius with provisions, that even some of the women were slain in the fight, carried thither by their passionate zeal for the cause. Moreover, by means of the Fair, the City, though in itself very rich, was filled with a display of wealth still more abundant. The other Leaders were all eclipsed by Antonius. Upon him his signal fortune and fame drew all eyes. He, to wash himself from the stains of blood, had present recourse to a bath, where a word, which he happened to drop, was quickly remarked and divulged. As he complained of the imperfect warmth, he added, that 'it would suddenly prove abundantly hot : ' A saying which, though pleasantly uttered to his slaves, turned upon him the whole odium and indignation of the Public, as if by this he had given the watch-word for setting fire to Cremona, which was already in a blaze.

Into it there had rushed forty thousand men, all in their arms ; of the base retainers to the camp, still a greater number, and more abandoned to feats of licentiousness and barbarity. No security accrued from the age or persons, none from dignity of place, and neither proved a restraint from joining acts of constupration to those of murder, and acts of murder to those of constupration. Men stooping under a load of years, and matrons past their age, as they would yield no price, were dragged along in mockery and mirth. When in their way there fell any virgin grown, or lovely boy ; after all the limbs of the tender prey were rent asunder by the struggles and competition of these sons of cruelty ; then, in the rage of disappointment, with their bloody hands they butchered each other. Whilst from the several Temples they were carrying loads of treasure, or the sacred gifts and ornaments

ments of massy gold, every one under a burden of his own, they were themselves spoiled and slaughtered by others who were stronger. Some despising the booty which was present and obvious, by merciless tortures and stripes forced the proprietors to search out whatever they had concealed, to dig up whatever they had buried. In their hands they bore flaming torches : These they threw, as notable sport, into empty houses, such as they had just stripped, and into Temples which they had first made desolate. And, as in an army different in language and customs, an army variously composed, of Roman Citizens, of confederates, and of strangers, various too, and different were their passions and pursuits ; and to every one some or other act of violence seemed right ; nor was any act whatsoever forborn as unjust. During four whole days did Cremona bear depredations and the flames. When under the fury of the fire all things, whether sacred or prophane, had subsided, the Temple of Mephitis, standing without the walls, remained intire, whether, by its situation, not exposed, or preserved by the interposition of the Goddesses.

Such was the end of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-six years after its rise. It was founded under the Consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, when Hannibal was ready to fall into Italy, as a barrier against the Gauls on the other side the Po, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the Alps. Thus it grew and flourished in number of people, convenience of rivers, richness of territory, and affinities with other nations of Italy ; a Colony in all our foreign wars never hurt, but in our civil dissensions signally unhappy. Antonius struck with shame for the barbarity committed, which upon him was continually drawing fresh abhorrence, issued a public order
‘ That no one should presume to hold captive an
‘ citize

‘ citizen of Cremona.’ Vain too and unprofitable to the soldiers had such prey been rendered by the unanimous combination of Italy, to refuse the purchase of such for their slaves. Thus they who had them began to murder them. When this inhumanity became known, their kindred and relations made haste to redeem them. Shortly after the remainder of the people returned to Cremona. The places of public resort, and the Temples, were restored by the liberality and contribution of the Colony. They had moreover to encourage them, special countenance and exhortation from Vespasian.

Now, as through putrefaction and carcases the ground was polluted and noisome, the vanquishers could not long lodge upon the ruins in which the city was buried. They therefore retired three miles from thence, and finding the soldiers of Vitellius scattered and dismayed, replaced them again, each under his former banner. Over Illyrium too they dispersed the conquered Legions; lest, as the civil war still subsisted, they might form dangerous designs. They thereafter sent messengers into Britain and into both Spains, there to blazon their victory; as into Gaul they also dispatched Julius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germany Alpinus Montanus, Commander of a Cohort, two officers chosen for ostentation and parade, as the latter was of Treves, the former an Eduan, both partizans of Vitellius. At the same time, guards were posted upon the passes of the Alps from a jealousy entertained of Germany, as if for the succour of Vitellius that country were arming.

Now Vitellius, when Cæcina was departed, having in a few days after caused Fabius Valens to take the field, abandoning the functions of an Emperor, smothered all his cares in voluptuousness and excess, made no warlike preparations, by no military exercises

ercifes preserved the vigour of the soldiers, by no pathetic harangues inspired them with confidence and zeal, shewed himself not in public, nor courted the affection of the people, but buried in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, had in oblivion equally drowned all thoughts of things past, present, and future; like certain beasts so listless and heavy, that if you throw them but provender, lie still for ever, resigned to stupidity and slumbering. Under this course of sloth and gluttony, in the grove at Aricinum, he was alarmed with tidings of the desertion of Lucilius Bassus, and the defection of the Fleet at Ravenna. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that Cæcina had revolted, but by the army was cast into bonds. In his spirit undiscerning and stupid, joy overcame anxiety. Back he returned to Rome with mighty alacrity and exultation, and in a full assembly accumulated many praises upon the duty and devotion of the soldiers. Upon Publius Sabinus, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, because of his intimacy with Cæcina, he ordered chains to be put, and in his place substituted Alphenus Varus.

He presently after met the Senate, and to them addressed himself in a speech purposely framed, with strains very high and boasting. To these the Senators replied in many flights of elaborate flattery. The first who proposed judgment to pass against Cæcina, a judgment deadly and terrible, was Lucius Vitellius. Immediately all the rest, in a stile of indignation well studied, declared their abhorrence, 'That he who was Consul should thus betray the
' Commonweal, he who was General, his Emperor;
' he, upon whom riches had been poured so vast, public honours so many, betray his friends and benefactor.' Thus they appeared to complain in behalf of Vitellius, but in reality uttered their own just grief and resentment. In all their speeches not a man dropped

the least invective against the opposite Leaders. They only blamed, 'the mistake and indiscretion of the 'armies,' and with great circumspection avoided all mention of Vespasian. One too was found who by servile court obtained the Consulship for one day, (as so much remained of Cæcina's term) with infinite derision upon him who bestowed, as well as upon him who accepted. Upon the last day of October, Roscius Regulus began this his Magistracy, and with the day his Magistracy ended. It was by wise men observed, that never till then had one Consul been substituted to another, till the office were first abrogated, or a law solemnly published. For there had been before a Consul for one day, Caninius Rebilus, during the Dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, at a juncture when offices were shortened to gratify such as had merited in the civilwar.

During these days was publicly known the death of Junius Blæsus, and employed the tongues of all men. Concerning it I have learnt the following account. Vitellius, whilst he laboured under a grievous malady in the gardens of Servilius, perceived, during the night, a tower in the neighbourhood illuminated with a multitude of lights. As he expressed curiosity to know the occasion, he was informed, 'That Cæcina Tuscus celebrated at his 'house a great banquet for many guests, but the 'foremost in dignity was Junius Blæsus.' In recounting particulars, terrible aggravations were made and every thing misrepresented. 'What pompous 'preparations and parade, to what flights of gaiety 'and mad revellings they had let loose their minds.' Nor were there wanting some to arraign Tuscus himself and others: But they charged Blæsus as more criminal than all, 'That whilst the Emperor 'languished under sickness, he thus kept days of 'festivity and rejoicing.' When to such as eagerly watch the passions and dis gusts of Princes, it appeared

peared manifest that the Emperor was exasperated, and that the doom of Blæsus might be accomplished, upon Lucius Vitellius was presently devolved the task of maintaining the accusation. He, from a spirit of malignity and envy, bearing special enmity to Blæsus, for that in a reputation glorious and popular, he so far surpassed himself, contaminated with every sort of infamy, went directly, and opening the Emperor's chamber, caught in his arms the Emperor's son, and before him fell upon his knees. To the other, who inquired into the cause of such his confusion, he answered, ' That from no dread
' of his own, from no anxiety for himself, he came
' thus to pour out his prayers and tears: No; it
' was for his brother, it was for the children of his
' brother, that these prayers were uttered and these
' tears flowed. In vain was Vespasian feared, he
' whom so many German Legions, whom so many
' Provinces all faithful and brave, whom finally
' tracks so immense of land and sea, concurred to
' repel and confine to Legions far remote. It be-
' haved him rather to guard against an enemy with-
' in the walls of Rome, nay, an enemy in his own
' bosom; one who for his ancestors boasted the Ju-
' nian House, and that of Mark Antony; one
' sprung from the race of the Cæsars, and offici-
' ously presenting himself to the soldiers, to win
' their affections by his complaisance, to raise their
' admiration of his magnificence. Upon this ob-
' ject centered the minds of all men, whilst Vitel-
' lius regardless of friends and enemies, cherished
' his supplanter, who from amidst the frolics and
' wantonness of banquetting, beheld the pains and
' agonies of the Prince. Upon the Emperor it was
' incumbent for this night's insolent and ill-timed
' mirth, to repay him with a night doleful and dead-
' ly; whence he might be convinced that Vitellius
' still lived, that he still reigned, and, should fate

‘ happen to remove him, had a son to succeed
‘ him.’

Whilst between the iniquity proposed and fear for himself, Vitellius wavered under perplexity and dismay, lest by deferring the doom of Blæsus he should hasten his own, and from openly ordering the execution much public hate and horror might ensue, he found it the best expedient to dispatch him by poison. To the guilt of this black exploit he added credit and proof, by visiting Blæsus in his last moments, with glaring marks of joy. He was also heard to drop an expression full of barbarity, by declaring (for I shall repeat the very words) ‘ That
‘ he had glutted his eyes by beholding the death of
‘ his enemy.’ In Blæsus, besides the signal splendor of his race, and the elegance of his life and accomplishments, there had been found faith and allegiance not to be changed. He had been before courted by Cæcina and other Grandees of the party, to join with them against Vitellius, whom even then they were casting off whilst his cause yet prospered without check; but, with constancy unshaken, he rejected their suit, and ever shewed himself a man void of all stain, free from all faction, fond of no sudden elevation whatsoever, and so much less fond of sovereignty, that he narrowly missed being deemed worthy of it.

Fabius Valens, in the mean time, at the head of a huge and effeminate host of eunuchs and harlots, advancing with a pace too slack and indolent for one who proceeded to war, received tidings sent express, that Lucilius Bassus had betrayed to the enemy the Fleet at Ravenna: and, had he quickened his march, he might have prevented the defection of Cæcina, then halting, or at least have overtaken the Legions ere the battle had been risked. Nor were there wanting some to advise him, ‘ That
‘ with a few faithful attendants, chusing private
‘ ways,

‘ ways, and avoiding Ravenna, he should travel ‘ directly to Hostilia or Cremona.’ To others it seemed more eligible, ‘ to send to Rome for the ‘ Prætorian Guards, and then with a powerful band ‘ force their way.’ He himself, yielding to fruitless procrastinations, wasted, in consulting, the opportunities for acting. Anon, slighting both these counsels and shewing neither sufficient resolution nor sufficient foresight, he chose a part, which in desperate exigencies is ever the worst, by following a middle course : He wrote to Vitellius, and desired succours.

From Vitellius came three Cohorts, with the Squadron of horse from Britain ; a number ill concerted, too great to be led by stealth, not great enough to break through the enemy. Valens, even under all the distress and peril that encompassed him, forbore not to earn fresh infamy, but was branded for rioting in wicked and impure pleasures, and for defiling the houses of his several hosts with feats of adultery and constupration. He was invested with power, furnished with treasure, and now exerting the last efforts of debauchery during the overthrow of his fortune. At last, upon the coming of the foot and horse, appeared the unhappy absurdity of the measures taken ; since a band so small, however faithful in their adherence they had been, were neither able to march through an enemy’s country, nor had brought with them perfect steadiness and fidelity. They were however, checked by shame, and by reverence for the presence of their General ; restraints which were not likely to last amongst men thirsting after dangers, hardened against all sense of reproach and dishonour. Moved with this apprehension, and retaining with himself a few, such as had not changed their affections upon the change of fortune, he sent forward the Cohorts to Ariminum. The Cavalry he ordered to guard their rear. He

himself turning aside, bent his Course to Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Having here learnt the issue of the battle at Cremona, he conceived a design no wise dastardly, which, had it been accomplished would have produced very terrible events: He proposed to embark for Narbon Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coast, to rouse all the Provinces of Gaul, and all the Roman forces there, as also the several nations of Germany, and thence a new war.

Against the garrison of Ariminum, dismayed upon the departure of Valens, Cornelius Fuscus advanced with an army, and sending small gallies round the neighbouring shore, beset them by land and sea. He also possessed himself of the plains of Umbria, and of the territories of Picenum all along the Adriatic Gulph. Thus between Vespasian and Vitellius all Italy was shared, and the ridges of the Apennine were the common boundary. Fabius Valens having embarked in the Port of Pifa, was by a contrary wind, or a calm, forced to land at Monaco. Not far from thence abode Marius Maturnus, Procurator of the Maritime Alps, a faithful adherent to Vitellius, one who, though all the country around espoused the opposite party, had never swerved from his allegiance. From him Valens found a kind reception, but was deterred by him from venturing rashly into Narbon Gaul. His followers at the same time began to warp, their faith yielding to the force of fear. For into the oath to Vespasian, Valerius Paulinus the Procurator had drawn all the States round about; an Officer of known bravery, and Vespasian's friend before his elevation. In the Colony of Forojulium too, as a city which commanded all access from the sea, he held a garrison, consisting of men discharged by Vitellius, now again all invited to take arms, and all frankly resuming them. So much the greater
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also was his sway, for that Forojulium was his native city; and amongst the Prætorians he possessed much personal reverence, as having been once their Tribune. Moreover, the inhabitants, through partiality to their fellow-citizen, and in prospect of aggrandizing themselves, everted all their might to support the party. When all these terrible dispositions with such care settled, and by the voice of rumour amply heightened, were currently related amongst the adherents of Vitellius, already anxious and perplexed, Fabius Valens returned directly to his vessels with four of the Emperor's body-guard; three friends, and as many Centurions. To Maturus and the rest, if they listed to stay, and swear to Vespasian, full liberty was left. For what remains; to Valens the sea doubtless yielded greater security than any abode in the cities or upon the shore; but, whilst he remained under painful doubt about his future fortune, and rather certain what to avoid than upon what to rely, he was by the violence of contrary winds driven upon the Stechades, Islands near Marseilles. There some gallies, purposely sent by Paulinus, took him prisoner.

When Valens was taken, all places followed the fortune of the conqueror; as in Spain the example began from the first Legion named *Adjutrix*, which, in tenderness to the memory of Otho, bearing despatch to Vitellius, drew at this time along with it the tenth also and the sixth. Nor, in the Provinces of Gaul, was there any hesitation. And, as in Britain signal was the affection found for Vespasian, who had, in the reign of Claudius, commanded the second Legion there, and acquitted himself with great glory, and martial prowess; that country too acceded to his party; yet not without struggle and opposition from the other Legions, in which many Centurions and many soldiers had been promoted by

Vitellius, and were brought with regret to change a prince whom they had already experienced.

From this animosity and contest in the army, and from the rumours of our intestine war, continually flying, the Britons resumed their ancient defiance and hostilities, led by the sway of Venusius, who, besides his inherent ferocity, and settled hate to the Roman name, was inflamed by personal enmity and rage towards Queen Cartismandua. This lady ruled over the Brigantes, mighty in the lustre of her race. Her puissance too had been largely augmented, since her taking of King Caractacus, whom by guile she had seized, and delivering him to the Romans had thence the merit of having embellished the triumph of the Emperor Claudius. Hence her great opulence, and hence the wild riot following prosperity. Rejecting Venusius, who was her husband, she espoused Vellocatus his armour-bearer, and upon him with her person conferred her crown. By this act of reproach she wrought the present dissolution of her house. With her husband remained the zeal and inclinations of the State; for the adulterer was engaged the lewdness of the Queen, and all her cruelty exerted. Venusius having called in succours, and gained the Brigantes themselves to revolt, reduced Cartismandua to extreme peril and distress. From the Romans she then implored a reinforcement; and indeed our Cohorts and Squadrons of horse, after several encounters with variable success, rescued the Queen herself from impending peril. The Kingdom continued to Venusius, and upon us the war.

During the same conjuncture, commotions prevailed in Germany, as well through the spiritless conduct of our Generals, as through the turbulent behaviour of the Legions. Insomuch, that by assaults from foreign nations, and by the perfidiousness

ness and defection of nations allied, the Roman interest there had well nigh been abolished. I shall hereafter recount the story of this war, with its causes and events; for it continued long. The people of Dacia too were up in arms, a nation never well affected, and then by no awe restrained, since the army was withdrawn out of Mœsia. The first movements of affairs they had watched with attention, but in quiet: Anon, when they had learnt that all Italy was in a blaze of war, and on both sides hostile minds and hostile doings, they stormed the winter lodgments of the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, and became masters of both banks of the Danube. They were already proceeding to demolish the entrenchments of the Legions, had not Mucianus sent the sixth Legion to oppose them: For he was apprized of the victory at Cremona, and apprehended what a terrible storm of foreign violence must from each quarter ensue, should the Dacians and Germans once break in through different limits. Present and assisting, as often else, so then surely was the good fortune of the Roman People, which thither just at that instant drew Mucianus, and the forces of the East; besides that, ere he came, we had finished the contest at Cremona. Fonteius Agrippa, just arrived from Asia, where he had governed for a year with Proconsular authority, was appointed Governor of Mœsia, with a supply of forces taken out of the late army of Vitellius; since, to disperse them through the Provinces, and hold them entangled in a war against foreigners, was a measure concerted to preserve domestic peace.

Nor in other nations was there composure found. Throughout Pontus, one who was a barbarian and a slave, and once Commander of the navy royal there, had with notable suddenness excited an uproar of arms. It was Anicetus, Freedman to King Polemon, and under him in times past mighty in

power, now full of bitterness and regret, ever since the Kingdom had been changed into a Roman Province. Arraying therefore, in the name of Vitellius, the several nations that dwell in Pontus, and, with the prospect of spoil, seducing all such as were extremely indigent, he saw himself Leader of no inconsiderable band, and with great rapidity assailed and entered Trapezund, a City of Asia exceeding ancient, founded by the Grecians upon the utmost confines of Pontus. There a Cohort was slaughtered, the same formerly retained in the service of the King: They had thereafter been presented with the privilege of Roman Citizens, and thence in their arms and banners adhered to the usage of the Romans, yet still followed the idle life and licentious spirit of Greeks. He likewise burned the fleet, and with scorns and insults scoured the sea then unguarded, as from thence Mucianus had called the choice Gallies and all the Marines to Byzantium. Nay, the neighbouring Barbarians, casting off all reverence and fear, roved about for spoil in vessels hastily built, such as they call sheds, shallow in the sides, wide at bottom, and framed without bandage of iron or brass. When the sea rages, in proportion to the swelling of the waves they heighten the shell of their boats with additional planks, till by degrees they close above like a roof. Thus they roll among the surges, with both ends sharp, and formed to row indifferently hither or thither, with ease and safety.

This affair merited the attention of Vespasian, who, to end it, chose out a body of Vexillaries from the Legions, and for their Leader, Verdius Geminus, an Officer distinguished in war. He, assailing the enemy whilst they were disconcerted, and roaming asunder in pursuit of prey, drove them into their vessels; then in some gallies made with dispatch, chased Anicetus into the mouth of the river Chobus; where he relied for safety, upon
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the protection of Sedochus King of the Lacians, an ally whom he had purchased by money and presents. And at first the King, in defence of his suppliant, betook himself to menaces and arms; but, as soon as a recompence for his treachery was proposed, and a war threatened, if he refused, his fidelity vanished like that of other Barbarians: He struck a bargain for the life of Anicetus, and surrendered all the fugitives. Thus ended that servile war. Whilst Vespasian was yet rejoicing over this victory, to see that upon all his measures there attended a torrent of success surpassing his own wishes, tidings of the battle at Cremona overtook him in Egypt. Hence he speeded the faster to Alexandria, that, since the army of Vitellius was utterly broken, he might now also distress Rome itself by famine, a City ever needing supplies from abroad. For he was moreover preparing to invade Africa by sea and land, a country situated upon the same coast, and by intercepting the sources of bread, to bring upon the enemy the calamity of hunger, and with it that of dissension.

Whilst by such changes as these over the face of the whole earth, the fortune of the Empire was passing from one head to another, Antonius Primus proceeded by no means in the same measure of innocence after his success at Cremona; as he judged that what war could do he had amply done, and whatever was to follow would be easily accomplished; or whether it were, that, in a spirit like his, a flow of felicity only laid open the avarice, pride, and other vices hitherto smothered and lurking in it. He oppressed Italy as a country by conquest doomed to spoil; he soothed and courted the Legions as his own; in all his sayings, in all his doings, he sought to fortify himself, sought to lay a mighty foundation of power; and that he might inure the soldiers to wantonness, and wild freedom,
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he frankly committed to the discretion of the Legions the choice of Centurions in the room of such as were slain. By these popular suffrages, every the most factious and turbulent spirit came to be chosen; nor were the soldiers any longer under the controulment of their Leaders, but the Leaders forced headlong by the fury of the soldiers: Proceedings apparently seditious, and contrived to debauch the army. Anon he betook himself to feats of rapine, without the least awe of Mucianus who was approaching; a neglect of more terrible consequence than if he had contemned Vespasian in person.

Now, as winter advanced, and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the Po, the army marched forward, lightly equipped, free from incumbrance and baggage. At Verona were left the Banners and Eagles of the victorious Legions, with all that were aged, and all that were maimed, as also many that were hale and unhurt. As the rage of the war was already extinguished, it seemed sufficient to lead on the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, with a chosen band from the Legions. The eleventh Legion joined the host; a Legion which at first had halted, but now, seeing the issue prosperous, grieved that in it they had no share. There accompanied these, six thousand Dalmatians lately levied. Of all these additional forces Poppæus Silvanus, a man of Consular quality, was Leader; but in Annius Bassus, Commander of that Legion, the whole controul and management lay. He, under the guise of submitting and obeying, ruled Silvanus, as one of himself impotent in war, and ever wasting in talk the seasons of action: nor did Annius fail to assist at whatever required dispatch, with constant industry void of ostentation. To these forces were added all the select Marines from Ravenna, men who made suit to be employed in the Legions. Their places in the fleet were supplied by

by the Dalmatians. The army and its Leaders halted at the temple of Fortune, under doubt and hesitation about the pursuit of their main design ; for they had heard that the Prætorian Cohorts were led out of Rome. They judged too that upon the Apennine they should find guards posted to oppose their passage. Besides, they were terrified with want, in a country utterly desolated by war, terrified with the seditious clamour of the soldiers now importunate for the donative which they call *Clavarium*. In truth, neither of money nor of grain had they made any provision. What disconcerted them, and prevented it, was the temper of the soldiers, so rapacious and eager, since what they should have received as allowance, they ravished away and wasted as prey.

By writers greatly celebrated I find it recorded, that amongst the conquering army such barbarous indifference was found to all feats whatsoever, natural or against nature, that a common soldier in the Cavalry having averred, that in the late combat he had killed his brother, demanded a recompence from the Commanders for the exploit. Nor were they at liberty, either by the laws of humanity, to distinguish such murder with an honourable reward, or, by the Policy of the war to punish it. They postponed the man, as if to his service and merit higher obligations were due than could presently be discharged. Any further account about it I find not in the historians. Yet in our civil wars past there happened the like unnatural stroke ; for, in the conflict against Cinna at Janiculum, a soldier of Pompey's slew his brother, and anon himself, upon discovering his sad mishap, as the story is related by Sisenna. So much more prompt in the days of our ancestors, as was glory to crown acts of virtue, so was remorse to follow evil deeds. Such incidents as these, revived from ancient story, it will

will not prove foreign to recount, whenever the passage or place requires the same, either as examples of worthy actions, or solacements for those which are wicked.

By Antonius, and the other Leaders of the party, it was after deliberation agreed, to send forward the horse, in order to make special search through all Umbria for a tolerable passage over the ridges of the Apennine, to bring up the Banners and Eagles, and all the soldiers left at Verona, and by sea and the Po to have abundant provisions brought. Some against the Leaders there were, who studied to frame obstacles and delays: For Antonius was already grown too mighty and assuming, and from Mucianus they hoped a treatment more equal and friendly. The truth is, Mucianus fretted at so quick a victory, and judged that were he not present at the entry into Rome, he should be deprived of all share in the war, and in the glory of the war. Hence to Primus and Varus he sent frequent letters, full of doublings and uncertainty, now urging them to pursue their designs with vigour, anon recommending the advantages of procrastination and coolness, in a stile so contrived, that conformably to the issue, whatever it were, he might easily disown all miscarriages, or easily challenge all success. With much more openness did he transmit his meaning and aims to Plotius Griphus, one lately dignified by Vespasian with the rank of Senator, and Commander of a Legion, and to other officers such as he trusted. They too all returned answers such as censured the overhasty motions of Primus and Varus, and such as complimented Mucianus, who, by conveying these letters to Vespasian, had effectually caused all the proceedings and counsels of Antonius to be prized far beneath his hopes. This was what Antonius could brook with no patience, and upon Mucianus he cast all the blame, as one by whose calum-

calumnies all his own exploits and perils were rendered of no estimation. Nor spared he bitter words; in his speech ever violent, and a stranger to submission. To Vespasian he wrote letters, in strains more pompous and assuming than towards an Emperor are allowed, and not without severe reproaches tacitly aimed at Mucianus. He said, 'It was he himself who had urged the Pannonian Legions to action and arms; by his instigation and address the Leaders in Mœsia had been influenced and roused; by his vigour and perseverance the mighty Alps had been attempted and passed, Italy possessed, all succours from Rhætia and Germany precluded. That the Legions of Vitellius, when found to be at variance and even disjoined, and been broken by a furious onset from the horse, then utterly discomfited by the infantry continuing the conflict and slaughter for a whole day and night, was an action of consummate lustre, and by himself accomplished. To the fortune of war only must be ascribed the fall of Cremona: in truth, with public damage much greater, nay, to the destruction of many noble Cities, had our civil dissentions of old been carried on. He was not one who fought for his Emperor with letters and messengers, but for him exposed his person, and wielded his arms. Yet he meant not to lessen the glory of such as had attended the while to the establishment of Asia. The tranquility of Mœsia had been their study; it had been his to preserve and secure Italy. By his persuasions and authority had the Provinces of Gaul and Spain, the most powerful quarters of the Roman world, been brought to espouse the cause of Vespasian. But vainly bestowed had been all his efforts and fatigues, if the recompences of so many perils were to be reaped by such only as had risked none.' Neither did these things escape the knowledge of Mucia-

Mucianus. Hence between them ensued deadly enmities, in the exercise of which Antonius acted with an openness unguarded, Mucianus with closeness and craft, and thence with rancour more implacable.

For Vitellius; as, after the fore reverse of his fortune at Cremona, he smothered the news of the calamity, by such stupid dissimulation he postponed not his distresses themselves, but the remedies of his distresses. For, had he declared the disaster, and had recourse to advice, a resource would have been found still remaining of hopes and of forces. Whilst, on the contrary, he feigned that all his proceedings prospered, he by such false representations left his condition desperate. About his own person was observed a wonderful silence concerning the war; through the City all discourses about it were prohibited, and for this very cause the discourses grew more common. Nay, such as, had they been left to their liberty, would have recounted events truly, finding themselves restrained, published them now with tragical aggravations. Nor were the Leaders of the enemy's host wanting to blazon the fame of their victory: With this view whatever spies of Vitellius they seized they carried all over the camp, that they might behold the mighty force of the conquering army, and then sent them back to Rome. All these Vitellius, when he had secretly examined them, caused to be murdered. Signal was the firmness of spirit at this time manifested by Julius Agrestis the Centurion; who, after many conferences with Vitellius, in which he had in vain laboured to awaken him to magnanimity and manhood, at last prevailed with him, that he himself might be sent to survey the forces of the foe, and to learn the late transactions at Cremona. Neither attempted he to assume the lurking behaviour of a spy, and escape the notice of Antonius, but declaring to him.

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the instructions from the Emperor and his own design, demanded to view the whole in person. With him certain persons were readily sent, who shewed him all the scene of the fight, the desolation and remains of Cremonia, and the Legions taken prisoners. Agrestis returned to Vitellius, and finding him to reject as so many falsifications all the accounts which he brought, nay, hearing himself accused of corruption and infidelity; 'Since then,' said he, some remarkable confirmation is necessary, and since neither my life nor my death can henceforth avail thee, I will furnish thee with an evidence which thou mayest credit.' Having so said, he left his presence, and with a voluntary death confirmed to be true what he had declared. Some authors relate, that by orders from Vitellius he was murdered, but of his faith and fortitude give the same testimony.

Vitellius, as it were, roused out of a deep sleep, ordered Julius Priscus, and Alphenus Varus, with fourteen Prætorian Cohorts and all the several Squadrons of horse to beset the passes of the Appennine. After them marched a Legion drawn from the Marines. So many thousand forces, composed of select men and select horses, had a different General commanded them, were abundantly able to have made even an offensive war. The other companies of the guards he committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother, for the defence of the City. For himself; without departing in the least from his wonted course of debauchery, and full of impatience because full of distrust, he accelerated the election of magistrates, and then settled a succession of Consuls for many years. Our confederates he complimented with new leagues and concessions, foreigners with the privileges of Latium. Some nations he discharged from all tribute, upon others conferred fresh advantages and immunities; and, in
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sum, without all regard to futurity, rent and exhausted the Empire. But the common herd were struck with these his acts of benevolence, so conspicuous and mighty: Such as were extremely foolish procured them at a price: With men of sense they passed for void, like all bounties which can neither be granted nor accepted without impairing the Public. At length, moved by the incessant suit of the army, which now lay at Mevania, and accompanied by a mighty band of Senators, several following to make their court, many more to comply with his desire and fears, he arrived in the camp, in himself undetermined, and open to any traiterous counsel.

Whilst he was discoursing to an assembly of the soldiers, over his head there flew (a thing prodigious to be told) a flock of ravenous birds so numerous, that like a black cloud, they darkened the day. With this concurred an omen of direful portent; a bull escaped from the altar, and overturning all the equipage of the Sacrifice, was at last slain at a distance from thence, not in a place where it is customary to fell the victims. But the chief prodigy was, Vitellius himself, an Imperial Commander, unacquainted with warfare, a head void of counsel and foresight. To others he was continually applying for information, how to put the army in array, what foresight was required in gaining intelligence, and by what measures was the war to be pushed or prolonged? Nay, upon whatever tidings arrived, he was sure to betray much dread and trembling, even in his countenance and gait: Then he never failed to be drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp, and learning the revolt of the Fleet at Misenum, he returned to Rome, still most terrified with the stroke that fell latest, and not attending to the ultimate danger and contest. For when an occasion was presented so open
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and inviting for passing the Appennine with an army in prime vigour, and falling upon an enemy pinched with want and the rigour of winter, he, by dispersing his forces, resigned to certain slaughter and captivity a body of men so undaunted, such as, rather than abandon him, were determined to perish for him: A proceeding directly against the judgment of all the ablest Centurions, who, had their advice been required, would have advised what was righteous and true. Far from Vitellius his minions kept such men, and so disposed and trained were the Emperor's ears, that whatever was wholesome he found to be harsh, nor would admit other counsels than such as proved pleasing and pernicious.

The Fleet at Misenum Claudius Faventinus drew to revolt, by forging letters from Vespasian, and in his name tempting them with offers of reward for this their disloyalty. Of such prevalence, during civil dissention, is any impudent attempt even of individuals; since this Faventinus was no other than a Centurion who had been by Galba degraded with marks of ignominy. Over the Fleet there commanded Claudius Appollinaris, who proved neither firm to his faith, nor resolute in his infidelity: So that Apinius Tiro, once Prætor, and then accidentally at Minturnæ, presented himself as a Leader to the revolters. By these the neighbouring Colonies and municipal Cities were vehemently pressed to concur; and, as the people of Puteoli were especially zealous for Vespasian, whereas they of Capua adhered faithfully to Vitellius, with the rage of the civil War they blended the ancient competition of jealous and angry neighbours. To soften and reclaim the minds of the soldiers Vitellius made choice of Julianus, who had lately ruled the fleet at Misenum with a very gentle hand: For succours he had allotted him one of the City Cohorts

Cohorts and the band of Gladiators, which were already under his authority. When this body and that of the revolters came to encamp near each other, Julianus, without pausing long, went over to the party of Vespasian, and together they mastered Taracina, a City deriving its security rather from the situation and walls, than from the spirit and steadiness of the inhabitants.

When to Vitellius these transactions were known, he caused part of his forces to remain at Narnia under the Captains of the Prætorian Guards, and sent his brother Lucius with six Cohorts and five hundred horse, to make head against the insurrections begun in Campania. He himself, under great anguish of spirit, was yet revived by the testimonies of affection from the soldiers, and by the cries of the populace, requiring to be put under arms; and thus deluded by empty shew, to the impotent crowd, ever dastardly, and in words only daring, he gave the awful names of Legions and Army. In pursuance of the advice urged by his Freedmen, (for as to his friends, the higher their rank the more faithless the men) he ordered the people to be assembled by their Tribes, and to all such as gave in their names, the oath of fidelity was administered. As the multitude of Volunteers was over-abundant, between the two Consuls he parted the care of continuing the levy. Upon the Senators he laid an injunction to furnish a certain number of slaves, and a certain weight of silver. The Roman Knights proffered their money and their persons: nay, the descendants of Freedmen, of their own frank motion, pressed for leave to contribute the like assistance: Offers which, though at first hollow, and inspired only by officious fear, came at last to be sincerely intended, and the effect of pure good-will. In truth, the major part were touched with pity, not so much for Vitellius, as for the melancholy fate

fate and situation of the Sovereignty. Yet neither did he himself fail to move commiseration by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and many tears, in his promises very liberal, nay, extravagant, suitably to the nature of men under the agonies of fear. Now too he would needs assume the title of *Cæsar*, a title which till then he had rejected: but at this juncture he was struck with the superstitious efficacy of the name; besides that under the operations of dismay, equal attention is given to the babblings of the crowd as to the counsels of the wise. For the rest; as all measures rising from fits of ardour sudden and unadvised, are in their first motions vehement, but by space and continuance wax faint, the Senators by degrees dropped away, as did also the Roman Knights, at first indeed leisurely and with caution, and where he was not present to see them. Anon they avowed their contempt, and retired without distinction or reserve: So that Vitellius, ashamed of an attempt thus baffled and abortive, remitted all such concessions as he found were not to be granted.

As upon Italy it brought great terror, to see *Mævania* occupied by an army, and thence a fresh war as it were reviving in full vigour; so doubtless to the interest of *Vespasian* an increase of public zeal and partiality accrued from the departure of *Vitellius*, who in it betrayed such huge affright. Already prompt and even elated were the *Samnites*, and the *Pelignians*, and the *Marrians*: Nay, in competition and jealousy towards the people of *Campania*, who had the merit of an earlier desertion, they were indefatigable in all the toils and exigencies of war; as it is usual in a cause newly espoused to be very officious and forward. But so turbulent and severe was the winter, that, in passing over the *Appennine*, the army was sorely annoyed; and as they were thus struggling with difficulty

difficulty out of the deep snows, even when no enemy disturbed their march, it was abundantly manifest what terrible peril they must have undergone, had not Fortune disposed Vitellius to return back, that Fortune from which Vespasian's Leaders derived assistance and relief, at least as often as from their own dexterity and counsel. In the mountains they were met by Petilius Cerialis, who, under the habit of a poor peasant, and through his skill in the situation, had escaped the guards belonging to Vitellius. With Vespasian, Cerialis was nearly allied, in himself too no mean warrior, and hence taken into equal command with the other Chiefs. That to Flavius Sabinus also and Domitian there was room to have escaped, many writers agree. In truth several messengers had by various wiles and disguises made shift to reach them from Antonius, and shewed them from what place they might fly, and upon what guard and security depend. Sabinus pleaded his infirmities, unable to bear fatigue, unfit for daring exploits. In Domitian was found no want of spirit or will; but, of the guards placed about him by Vitellius, though they offered themselves for companions of his flight, he entertained apprehensions, lest thence they meant against him some pernicious snare. Moreover Vitellius himself, in tenderness to his own family and kindred, meditated nothing barbarous against Domitian.

When the Generals were arrived at Carfulæ, there, for repose, they spent a few days, till the Eagles and Banners of the Legions had overtaken them. The place too where they encamped pleased them, affording a prospect extensive and noble, with secure conveyance for all provisions, as behind them lay so many large Cities full of opulence. They had likewise a view to draw the forces of Vitellius, only ten miles distant, into some intercourse, and thence into infidelity and desertion:

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A project bitterly resented by the soldiers: What they fought was conquest rather than pacification. They were indeed against waiting the arrival of their own Legions, whom they more apprehended as sharers in the prey, than considered as partakers in the peril. Antonius addressing himself to them for this purpose assembled, informed them, ‘ That
‘ Vitellius was still master of forces, such as would
‘ falter, were they alone to deliberate, but rouse
‘ all their vigour if once made desperate. To the
‘ direction of fortune were to be left the first motions of a civil war, but the work of completing
‘ the conquest must be conducted by counsel and
‘ prudence. Already had the Fleet at Misenum revolted, with all the rich and charming region of
‘ Campania; nor of the whole globe remained
‘ there more to Vitellius than what lay between
‘ Tarracina and Narnia. Abundant glory had been
‘ acquired by the battle of Cremona, and by the
‘ destruction of that City, abhorrence overmuch.
‘ Far be it from them to covet the taking of Rome
‘ like enemies, rather than preserve it like Citizens.
‘ Much higher rewards would they reap, and honour in most ample measure, if to the Senate and
‘ people of Rome they procured security and protection without the effusion of blood.’

By these and the like reasonings their spirits were calmed, nor was it long ere the Legions arrived. From the fame and dread of the army thus augmented, the Vitellian Cohorts began to fluctuate; since none appeared to encourage them to opposition and war, as did many to desert and surrender: Nay, they were striving to outgo one another in delivering over their several companies of foot and troops of horse, each intending it as a present gratification to the conqueror, and a ground of future favour to himself. From these men it was learnt, that four hundred horse kept garrison at Interamna,
a place

a place in the neighbourhood. Thither Varus was forthwith dispatched with a light band: The few who resisted he put to the sword; the major part threw down their arms and craved mercy. Some escaped, and flying quite back to the Camp at Narnia, filled it with universal affright, as they magnified above measure the forces and bravery of the enemy, thence to lessen their own infamy in losing their garrison. Neither amongst the forces of Vitellius was there any punishment inflicted for any crime; whilst from the other party sure rewards attended their desertion. Nor henceforth was any other struggle seen save for precedence in perfidiousness and treason, and incessantly were the Tribunes and Centurions flying over to the stronger. For the common soldiers persisted inflexibly in their adherence to Vitellius, till Priscus and Alphenus having abandoned the Camp and returned to Vitellius, had left them all free and amply absolved from any stain of infidelity in shifting thenceforth for themselves.

During those days Fabius Valens was slain in prison at Urbin, and to the view of the Vitellian Cohorts his head displayed, to prevent their cherishing any farther hopes: For they believed he had escaped into Germany, and was there assembling a mighty army of old forces and new. Perceiving that he was slain, they sunk into utter despair. The army of Vespasian also inferred immense effects from the doom of Valens, no less than the end of the war. Valens was born at Anagnia, of an Equestrian house, in his morals a libertine, who by licentious gaieties aimed at the character of condescension and pleasantry, neither wanted he suitable quickness of parts. In the Interludes called Juvenalia exhibited by Nero, he usually acted a pantomime, a part to which he at first would seem to be forced, but anon, made it his choice, and acquitted himself

self with more art than modesty and honour. Bearing the command of a Legion in the army of Verginius, he prompted that General to assume the Empire, and then blackened and defamed him as aiming at it. Fonteius Capito he assassinated, having first corrupted his loyalty, or because he found it incorruptible. To Galba he proved a traitor, faithful to Vitellius, and from the prevailing perfidiousness of others his fidelity received its lustre.

The soldiers of Vitellius, now utterly bereft of hope on every side, proceeded to pass over to the party of Vespasian, and in this step too acted with no small ignominy, as, under their banners and ensigns all displayed, they descended into the plain below Narnia, there to surrender. Upon the side of the highway was ranged the army of Vespasian in close files, arrayed as if for battle, and just ready to engage. Into their centre they received the Vitellians, and, having encompassed them round, Antonius Primus spoke to them in a stile of much meekness and humanity, ordering part of them to remain at Narnia, part at Interamna. With them he also left some of the victorious Legions, such as, if they were peaceable, would not annoy them, yet, if they proved turbulent, were able to master them. During all this time Antonius and Varus neglected not, by repeated messages, to make offers to Vitellius, of safety to his person, of revenues, and of any private retirement in Campania, if, laying arms aside, he would submit himself and his children to Vespasian. Mucianus likewise sent him letters in the same tendency and strain. Nay, in these offers Vitellius for the most part reposed trust and reliance, and was wont to discourse what number of domesticks he was to retain, and what pleasant recess near the sea he must chuse. Such absolute stupidity had seized his spirit, that if others would not remember he had been Emperor, he himself was ready to forget, and venture to live a private man.

Now the Grandees of Rome were by secret discourses rousing Flavius Sabinus, Governor of the City, ' to think of winning a share in victory and
' in fame. Upon him immediately depended the
' soldiers of the Cohorts there, nor would those
' of the night-watch fail to espouse him, their own
' slaves should form bands and join him, the successful fortune of the party was with him, and
' all things disposed to serve a conquering cause.
' Nor ought he thus lazily to leave to Antonius
' and Varus precedence in glory. Few were the
' Cohorts remaining with Vitellius, these few, by
' dismal tidings from all quarters, quite dismayed.
' Fleeting and unstable was the spirit of the populace, and from them, if he once presented himself as their head, he would find the same torrent
' of flattery and zeal turned instantly upon Vespasian. For the person of Vitellius; he was unequal to support even a course of prosperity, and
' now utterly stunned and heart-broken by a terrible train of calamities. Upon him, who made
' himself master of Rome, whoever he were, would
' devolve the praise and acknowledgment of having finished the war. In Sabinus it was becoming to secure and reserve the Sovereignty for his
' brother, in Vespasian to postpone all men to Sabinus.'

With no warmth or alacrity were these reasonings received by a man through years disabled in his person and his parts. Some there were, who harboured against him private suspicions and censure, as if through malignity and emulation he studied to mar the grandeur of his brother's fortune. For Flavius Sabinus, besides his seniority, whilst they were both private men, greatly surpassed Vespasian in wealth and estimation. He was even believed to have propped his brother's credit, otherwise sinking, and for the money lent to have received in
pledge

pledge his house and possessions. Hence, though between them a face of unanimity subsisted, dark grudges and heart-burnings were apprehended to remain. The juster construction is, ' That the
' man, naturally merciful and gentle, had in ab-
' horrence all slaughter and the spilling of blood,
' and therefore frequently conferred with Vitellius
' about the means of restoring public peace, and
' laying down arms by mutual concessions and trea-
' ty.' Many meetings they had at home; at last in the Temple of Apollo, as fame reported, they ratified the pacification. To their words and mutual declarations they had two witnesses, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus. Their countenances were carefully observed by those at a distance, that of Vitellius unmanly and abject, whilst Sabinus, far from insulting, looked rather like a man filled with compassion.

The truth is, if Vitellius could have brought the mind of his followers to have been as easy in complying, as he had been in yielding, the army of Vespasian had entered Rome without blood. But every one of those, in proportion to his fidelity to Vitellius, rejected peace and the terms of peace. They represented ' How insecure, how ignomini-
' ous they were, and that only upon the wanton
' humour of the conqueror the faith of performing
' them rested. Nor would Vespasian manifest such
' high contempt for Vitellius, as to suffer him to
' live even a private man: Neither indeed would
' the party vanquished ever bear it. So that from
' this commiseration of theirs would arise his cer-
' tain danger. He himself, in truth, was an an-
' cient man, and already fatiated with the various
' courses of fortune, both pleasing and disastrous:
' But to Germanicus his son, what name and cha-
' racter, what place and situation would remain?
' At present he had large promises of treasure, of

‘ domestics, and of seats upon the delightful coasts
‘ and bays of Campania. But from the moment
‘ Vespasian had mastered the State, nor he, nor
‘ his friends, nor even his armies, would find them-
‘ selves in perfect security till with the life of the
‘ competitor all competition were extinguished.
‘ Even Fabius Valens, though their captive, nay,
‘ though reserved for use against a day of exi-
‘ gency, proved too alarming and grievous to these
‘ men to be any longer borne. Far less did Anto-
‘ nius and Fuscus, far less did the luminary of the
‘ party, Mucianus, intend any terms for Vitellius,
‘ save that of killing him. Nor by Cæsar was the
‘ enjoyment of life left to Pompey, nor by Augus-
‘ tus to Antony: Unless Vespasian peradventure
‘ possessed superior greatness of soul, he who was
‘ no more than a creature of Vitellius, when Vi-
‘ tellius was Collegue in the Consulship with the
‘ Emperor Claudius. A nobler Choice Vitellius
‘ still had, to be roused even by despair to some at-
‘ tempt daring and brave, such as became the high
‘ honours sustained by his father, even that of Cen-
‘ sor and of three Consulships, such as became
‘ the lustre of his venerable house, distinguished
‘ with so many grand dignities in the State. The
‘ soldiers persevered inflexibly in their allegiance;
‘ in the people the same zeal still remained. At
‘ worst nothing more tragical could ensue, than
‘ what they were already rushing wilfully into.
‘ They must die if they fought and were vanquish-
‘ ed, they must die if they submitted and surrender-
‘ ed. This only consideration imported them,
‘ whether to resign their spirits tamely under scorn
‘ and reproach, or bravely, like men worthy to
‘ live.’

Deaf and impenetrable to all magnanimous coun-
sels were the ears of Vitellius. His soul was over-
whelmed with tenderness and anxiety, lest, by per-
sisting

sisting in opposition and arms, he should render the conqueror less relenting towards his wife and children. He had also lately a mother, a lady spent with age, and fortunate enough, by dying opportunely a few days before, to escape beholding the cruel downfall of her house; nor by her son's advancement to the Empire obtained she aught, save sorrow, and an excellent name. On the eighteenth of December, having learnt the defection of the Legion and Cohorts which had submitted to the enemy at Narnia, he went forth from the palace, in mourning apparel, amidst his domestics all wailing and sad. With them was carried his little son, a helpless infant in a small litter, as it were in a funeral solemnity accompanying him to his grave. The people attended with loud shouts, very complaisant and very preposterous. The soldiers with dreadful looks looked on in silence.

Nor was any one found now so unthoughtful of the variable lot of all things human, as not to be sensibly affected with this doleful scene; the Emperor of the Romans, lately Lord of human kind, relinquishing the seat of Imperial Fortune, and through the midst of the people, through the streets of the City, parting from the Empire! no such sight had they ever seen, no such event had they ever heard. By an instant stroke of violence Cæsar the Dictator fell, Caligula by secret combination. Under the shades of night, and in a country place solitary and unknown, the flight of Nero was hid. Galba and Piso perished as it were in battle. Vitellius in the face of the people, upon his own account assembled, encompassed by his own soldiers, nay, under the eyes even of the women beholding him from their houses, declared his own fall in few words, such as suited his sorrowful situation, 'That he voluntarily withdrew for the sake
' of public peace, and of the Commonweal. Of

‘ them he asked no more than only to be holden
‘ in remembrance by them, and that to his brother,
‘ to his wife, and to his tender and innocent
‘ children, they would shew compassion and mercy.’

At the same time extending his arms with his little son in them, he commended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At last, his speech being interrupted through abundant weeping, he ungirt his sword from his side, and presented it to the Consul (this was Cæcilius Simplex, who stood just by him) as thus resigning up the authority of life and death over the citizens. As the Consul refused to receive it, and the assembly with clamours opposed it, he departed with intention to divest himself of all the garniture of Sovereignty in the Temple of Concord, and thence to seek a private retirement in his brother's house. Hence ensued clamours yet more vehement, all declaring against his withdrawing to a private dwelling, all calling him back to the Palace. They even shut up every other way, and only left open that which leads through the street called Sacred. He then unfurnished with counsel or resource, returned to the Palace. Already had the rumour flown that he had abdicated the Empire, and already Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, to keep the soldiers under obedience and restraint.

Thus, as if the Commonwealth were falling into the hands of Vespasian, all the principal Senators, numbers of the Equestrian Order, with the whole City-soldiery, and those of the Night-watch, crowded to the house of Flavius Sabinus. Thither was brought them an account of the ardent zeal found in the populace for Vitellius, and of the terrible menaces from the bands of Germans. Sabinus had now advanced further than consisted with a possibility of retreating. Besides every particular there consulting his own personal peril, and all apprehend-

prehending left, whilst they were separated, and thence unequal to stand an attack, the Vitellian Cohorts should beset them, they excited him to take arms, of himself hesitating and backward. But, as in exigencies like these it happens, the counsel was given by all, but to face the danger few would adventure. About the Fundane Lake some of the boldest of Vitellius's men assailed those who were come forth in arms with Sabinus. As the encounter there was sudden and tumultuous, the skirmish was short, but the success remained with the Vitellians. Sabinus, under this distress and affright, recurred to the securest expedient that offered, and shut himself up in the fort of the Capitol with his miscellaneous soldiery, as also with certain Senators and Roman Knights; men whose names it were not easy to recount, for that when Vespasian had conquered all opposition, many there were who pretended to this proof of their merit towards his party. Even women chose to enter and abide the siege: Amongst these the most signal of all was Verulana Gracilia, a lady who followed thither neither her children, nor kindred, nor relations, but only followed the war. The soldiers of Vitellius invested the Capitol, but with stations altogether loose and ill-guarded; insomuch that during the dead of the night Sabinus caused to be brought to him thither his own children, and Domitian his brother's son. Moreover, after he had by means of places not secured, sent an express to Vespasian's Generals to acquaint him that himself and his friends were besieged, and, unless relieved, could hardly escape, he passed the night so free from any annoyance or alarm, that it was apparent he might have departed away without any hazard incurred. For the soldiers of Vitellius, who in facing dangers were so fierce and brave, shewed small list or application to continued toils, and the fatigues of constant

watchings. Besides, a sudden storm of rain, keen and vehement suitably to the winter season, bereft them of sight and hearing.

As soon as day dawned, before reciprocal hostilities began, he sent Cornelius Martialis, a Centurion of principal rank, to Vitellius with instructions and expostulations, about his violating solemn stipulations. ‘ That his offer to abdicate the Empire had been a pure device and phantasy, contrived to delude so many illustrious men. Why else, upon retiring from the assembly, did he rather chuse his brother’s house, overlooking the great Forum, and fitly placed to attract the eyes of all men, than Mount Aventine, and his wife’s house there? This was a recess which would have become him, had he sought a station truly private, and studied to shew and display of Sovereignty. Quite contrary had been the conduct of Vitellius; he had again betaken himself to the Palace, betaken himself to the very centre and citadel of the Empire. Thence by his order an armed host had sallied, scattering destruction. Strewed and defiled with the blood and carcasses of innocents was the noblest part of the city. Even the Capitol was not exempt from profaning violence. For himself; like other Senators, he only wore the pacific robe, whilst between Vespasian and Vitellius the contest for the Empire was deciding by combating Legions, by the capture of Cities, and by the desertion and surrender of Cohorts. Already to Vespasian had revolted both Spains, Germany the higher and the lower, and all Britain; yet still he, the brother of Vespasian, persisted in faith and duty to Vitellius, till even by Vitellius he was invited to treat of an accommodation. In concord and peace the vanquished found self-preservation, the conquerors only matter of glory. If he were sorry for the treaty
‘ made

‘ made, let him not draw his sword against Sabinus, the man whom he had perfidiously circumvented, nor against the son of Vespasian, one not arrived at manhood. From the blood of a single old man, from that of a single youth, what mighty advantage would be gained? No, let him go forth and confront the Legions, and there bravely contend for the enjoyment of power supreme.’ In answer to all this, Vitellius, under great agonies and affright, offered a few words to clear his innocence, throwing the whole fault upon ‘ the soldiers; since their impetuosity was beyond bounds, such as his gentle rule was unable to restrain.’ He even warned Martialis, ‘ to retire secretly through an obscure part of the house, that he might not be assassinated by the soldiers; as the mediator of a peace, which was what they abhorred.’ To himself no power remained either to command or to prohibit, nor was he any longer Emperor, but only the cause of war.

Hardly had Martialis returned to the Capitol ere the soldiers approached, full of fury, under no leader, every man his own master. The rapid host passing by the Forum, and the Temples which overlook the Forum, mounted the opposite ascent in battle array, and advanced even to the outermost gates of the Fort in the Capitol. Of old, upon the side of the declivity, to the right hand as you ascend, there stood certain portico’s: from the roofs of these the besieged casting stones and tiles, overwhelmed the assailants; nor had the latter other weapons to wield than their swords only; and as too tedious it seemed to have their engines drawn up with materials for throwing, into that portico which hung just over them they hurled flaming torches, and pursued their attack by fire. The gates of the Capitol were already in a flame, and the enemy must have entered, had not Sabinus pulled down the

Statues on all hands, and with these the glorious monuments of our forefathers, raised in the very entrance a new wall. They then strove to force a passage from the opposite avenues of the Capitol, that by the grove at the Sanctuary, and that where the Tarpeian Rock is ascended by a hundred stairs. Both assaults were alarming and unforeseen; but closer and fiercer was that of the grove. Nor was it possible to stay their progress, as they climbed over the contiguous buildings, which, in a long course of domestic peace, had been suffered to be raised upon the side of the hill, so high that they reached the foundation of the Capitol. It here remains undecided, whether to the adjoining roofs fire was set by the assailants, or which is more currently reported, by the besieged, whilst they strove to repulse such as were yet mounting up, and such as had already gained ground. From thence the fire spread to the portico's of the Capitol adjoining to the houses, and the eagles which supported the roof, as the timber was very old, instantly caught the flames, and nourished them. Thus burned the Capitol, and burned to ashes, with its gates shut, without being defended, and without being forced or plundered.

This outrage was the most deplorable that had happened since the founding of the City, and to the Roman Commonweal the most horrid and reproachful. At a time when no foreign enemy annoyed us, whilst towards us the Gods, as far as our evil demeanour would suffer them, were shewing themselves propitious, the residence of Jove all-good, all-great, by our ancestors reared with solemn benedictions and auspices, as the pledge and centre of future Empire, that sacred Seat which had escaped profanation even from Porfena, upon the surrender of Rome to him, escaped it even from the Gauls, when they had taken the City,
suffered

suffered desolation from the rage of our own Princes, who accomplished a calamity which our public enemies could never accomplish! Once before too the Capitol was destroyed by fire during a civil war, but then through private malignity. It was now publicly besieged, publicly burned, alas, from what causes of mutual arms? What prize to compensate a destruction so mighty? Did we thus fight for our Country? The elder Tarquin during his war with the Sabines made a vow to build it, and even laid the foundations, such as rather corresponded with his own hopes of its rising to grandeur in times to come, than suited to the then low condition of the Roman people. Thereafter Servius Tullius carried it on with the friendly concurrence of our confederates; and to finish it, Tarquin the proud, having taken Sueffa Pometia, applied all the spoils of the enemy. But to the time and establishment of public liberty, the glory of the work was reserved. Upon the expulsion of the Kings, Horatius Pulvillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, having improved and encreased it to such signal grandeur, that all the ensuing wealth of the Romans, however immense, though it might serve to give new embellishments, could add no new magnificence. Upon the same foundation it rose again, when burnt; after an interval of four hundred and twenty-five years, in the Consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus. The care of rebuilding it then Sylla undertook, having now mastered all opposition; yet he dedicated it not: This was the only thing withholden from him to compleat his felicity. Upon it the name of Catulus, amongst so many great works and monuments of the Emperors remained all along till the days of Vitellius: Then was this edifice laid in ashes.

But from the fire much more dread accrued to the besieged than to the assailants: For the soldiers

of Vitellius, in doubtful emergencies, wanted no address or resolution. On the opposite side, the men were dismayed, and spiritless the Leader; nay, as if bereft of his faculties, he exercised not the natural offices of speech, or of hearing, neither swayed by the counsels of others, nor furnished with any of his own, but by the several cries of the enemies driven headlong hither and thither. What he had commanded he again forbad, what he had forbidden he again commanded. Anon, what usually happens in forlorn circumstances, all directed, none obeyed. At length, casting away their arms, they only meditated how to lurk or where to fly. Then burst in the bands of Vitellius, and with fire, and sword, and carnage, made universal havoc. A few military men who ventured to encounter them, were slaughtered: Of these the most signal were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacencis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Scæva. They encompassed Flavius Sabinus, destitute of arms, nor offering to fly; as they did Quinctius Atticus the Consul, a man sufficiently remarkable by the ornaments of his office, as well as for his own vain-glorious conduct, as he had wantonly addressed to the people certain edicts very pompous in behalf of Vespasian, very bitter and opprobrious towards Vitellius. The rest, through divers chances and stratagems escaped, some disguised under the habit of slaves, others concealed by their trusty adherents, and even buried amongst bundles. There were several who having learnt the word whence the Vitellians were distinguished by one another, and venturing to use it, by asking it boldly and answering readily, from such confidence drew the same security as from a hiding-place.

Upon the first irruption of the foe, Domitian was by the device of his Freedman conveyed secretly into the house of the Warden, and under the
disguise

disguise of a linen robe, thrust amongst the tribe of Sacrificers, where passing undiscovered, he continued lurking at the house of Cornelius Primus, a dependant of his father's near the place called *Velabrum*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, having demolished the Warden's apartment, reared upon the place a small Chapel dedicated to *Jove the Protector*, with an altar, and the story of this adventure graved upon marble. Not long thence, when he arrived at the Sovereignty, he erected a vast Temple sacred to *Jove the Guardian*, with himself held in the arms of the God. Sabinus and Atticus, loaded with irons, and carried to Vitellius, were by him received with no bitter words, with no hostile countenance. Hence the rage of those who claimed privilege to butcher them, as also high rewards for the late exploit by them deemed a decisive victory. Thus clamours ensued, which being first begun by such as stood nearest, the vile and debauched sort of the populace called aloud for the present execution of Sabinus, and with this their demand intermixed many threatenings as well as much flattery. Nay, they forced Vitellius to forbear interposing, as he stood upon the stairs of the Palace preparing to soften them by intreaties. Instantly they thrust Sabinus through, and mangled him, then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk to the charnel of malefactors.

This was the fate of a man by no means to be contemned. Five and thirty years had he carried arms for the Commonweal, and, both in peace and war, bore a very signal reputation. As to the innocence of his life, and justice of his actions, he was unspotted: In his discourse he was over-copious: This was the only failing which even busy rumour could object to him during all the seven years that he ruled *Mœsia*, during all the twelve that he was Governor of Rome. In the end of his

his life he was by some judged to have been slow and spiritless, by many to have been prudent and moderate, and desirous to spare the blood of his fellow citizens. In one thing all men consent, that before Vespasian became Emperor, the dignity of the family centred in the person of Sabinus. I have been informed, that his fall was well pleasing to Mucianus. Indeed most men alledged, that by it peace and unanimity in the State were secured; as all emulation was now for ever removed between these two, who would always have been considering themselves, the one as the Emperor's brother, the other as his companion in power. But when the people required the doom of the consul, Vitellius persevered in opposing them, being himself now pacified, and as it were repaying him a courtesy; since to such as had asked him who it was that set fire to the Capitol, he made free confession of being the person guilty. By this acknowledgment, or be it a fiction only framed to temporize, in assuming the crime, and the odium of the crime, he seemed to have acquitted as innocent the party of Vitellius.

During these days, Lucius Vitellius having encamped at Feronia, threatened to storm and sack Terracina. Within it were shut up the Gladiators and Marines, a garrison who dared not venture without their walls, nor face the enemy in the field. Over the Gladiators (as I have above recounted) there commanded Julianus, over the Marines Apollinaris, two men in slothfulness and debauchery resembling rather common Gladiators than principal commanders. No watch they kept; none of the weak parts of the walls did they strengthen or secure; by night and by day they wallowed in voluptuousness, and with their gay revellings upon those delicious shores, the whole coast refounded. Their soldiers were dispersed abroad to procure supplies

plies for their luxury; and only whilst they were feasting did they talk of war. Apinius Tiro was gone from thence a few days before, and, by exacting from the municipal Cities money and presents with notable rigour, gained to the party much more malevolence than strength. In the mean time a slave of Virgilius Capito fled over to Lucius Vitellius, and undertook, if he were furnished with a band of men, to deliver up the castle secretly, destitute as it was of guards. Thus in the dead of night, he lodged some Cohorts lightly armed upon the ridge of the hills just over the head of the enemy. From thence the soldiers rushed down, indeed rather to a massacre than an encounter. Some void of arms, others endeavouring to arm, several just frightened out of their sleep, were all easily vanquished and overthrown, as with the profound darkness, with the sudden alarm and dismay, trumpets founding, and enemies shouting, they were all disconcerted and astonished. A few of the Gladiators resisted stoutly, nor died without first revenging their death. The rest fled with all their speed to the ships, where all were equally embarrassed by the same distress and affright; for with the soldiers were intermixt the inhabitants of Terracina, and these two the Vitellians slaughtered, without making any distinction. Six small galleys, just as the uproar and consternation began, escaped away, and in one of them Apollinaris Commander of the Fleet. All the other vessels were seized by the shore, or, surcharged by the thronging crowd, sunk to the bottom. Julianus was haled away to Lucius Vitellius, and being first scourged, till he was all covered with gore, executed in his sight. There were some who charged Triaria the wife of Lucius, as if with a military sabre girt to her side, she had manifested dreadful insolence and barbarity of spirit, even amidst the doleful wailings, and sad desolation of Terra-

cina

cina under the calamitous lot of spoil and massacre. He himself, as an indication of his prosperous achievement, sent to his brother a crown of laurel, and desired his orders whether to return forthwith to Rome, or to persist in the reduction of Campania. This pause was of salutary consequence not to Vespasian's part only, but to the whole Commonwealth. In truth, had the soldiers, naturally headstrong, now elated with success, proceeded to Rome just hot from their victory, a struggle not a little terrible must have ensued, nor could it have been decided without the destruction of the City. For in Lucius Vitellius, however infamous he were, no want of vigour was found; not that from any virtue he derived his importance and power as all worthy men do theirs, but, like every other wicked man, from his villainy and vices.

Whilst by the party of Vitellius these things were transacted, Vespasian's army, having departed from Narnia, diverted themselves at Ocrinum in celebrating the annual Feast of Saturn, a festival of many days; as if no other employment had awaited them. The cause of a delay so preposterous was, to stay for the coming of Mucianus. Nor were there wanting some who entertained suspicions of Antonius, and charged him, 'As if through treachery he thus lingered, in consequence of the letters secretly sent him from Vitellius, with offers of the Consulship, and of his daughter then marriageable, and, with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from Vespasian.' Others alleged, 'That all this change was no more than a fiction, framed purely in court to Mucianus.' Several argued, 'That it was a resolution concerted amongst all the Leaders, rather to present the city with a terrible display of war, than to carry the war thither; since the chief strength of the Prætorian Bands had already deserted Vitellius, who

‘ who was likewise precluded from any reinforcement on every hand : So that it was presumed he would quietly yield up the Empire; but that all was marred and disconcerted, first by the rashness, then by the pusillanimity of Sabinus, who having inconsiderately taken up arms, had not been able to maintain the invincible Fort of the Capitol against three Cohorts, a place strong enough to defy the assaults of mighty armies.’ The truth is, one cannot easily upbraid any particular Commander with a fault committed by all. For besides that Mucianus, by his dark and equivocal letters, retarded the motion of the conquering army, Antonius too incurred great guilt by his overlate and pernicious complaisance, though perhaps he thence studied to transfer upon the other all public resentment and hate. For the rest of the Chiefs; by judging the war to be compleated, they rendered the end of it the more signal and glaring. Nor indeed had Petilius Cerialis made sufficient dispatch, he who was purposely sent forward with a thousand horse, by an indirect march over the Sabine territories to enter Rome through the Salarian highway. At last, the news that the Capitol was besieged, roused them all.

Antonius advanced along the great Flaminian road, and far in the night advanced at the red rocks : But the aid which he intended came too late. He there met many tidings all very mournful, ‘ Sabinus murdered, the Capitol reduced to ashes, the City under dreadful consternation, nay, the populace and slaves all under arms for Vitellius.’ Petilius Cerialis also was unfortunate in the combat attempted by his horse, who, rushing incautiously upon the foe, as upon men already defeated, were received by the Vitellians steadily, with their foot interlined amongst their horse. Not far from the City the conflict happened, amongst buildings
and

and gardens, and winding-lanes; a situation familiar to the Vitellians, but strange to their enemies, and thence the cause of their perplexity and fear. Neither was the body of horse unanimously affected, as amongst them were incorporated some who had lately surrendered at Narnia, and now warily watched for what side fortune would ultimately declare. Tullius Flavianus Commander of a Squadron was taken. The rest suffered a scandalous rout, flying in unmanly dismay. The vanquishers pursued not beyond Fidenæ.

By this success the former zeal and partiality of the people became heightened. The commonalty of Rome betook themselves to arms; some few were furnished with regular shields; but the most part snatched up and turned into weapons whatever fell first in their way, and then craved the signal for battle. Vitellius presented them his thanks, and ordered them to sally forth and defend the City from insults and attacks. Anon the Senate was assembled, and Ambassadors nominated for repairing to the armies, such as under the style and guise of the Commonweal, were to exhort them to peace and union. Very different proved the lot and reception of the Ambassadors: They who went to Petilius Cerialis encountered perils almost fatal, as the soldiers sternly rejected all terms of peace. Nay, the Prætor Arulenus Rusticus was wounded; a barbarity which, beside the violation of a character altogether sacred, that of an Ambassador and of a Prætor, derived fresh abhorrence from the dignity and estimation of the man. His followers dispersed and fled: His principal Lictor was slain for daring to open a passage through the crowd: and had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by the chief officer, such was the brutal rage inspired by our civil dissensions, that the Law and Privilege of Ambassadors, esteemed inviolable even amongst foreign

foreign and barbarous Nations, had been profaned even to the massacring of their persons, in the midst of their native country and under the very walls of Rome. With more temper were they received who had gone to Antonius: Not that the soldiers had greater moderation, but the General greater authority.

With the Ambassadors had joined himself, Mufonius Rufus, by rank a Roman Knight, one who attended to the Study of Philosophy and adhered to the doctrine of the Stoics. He mingling amongst the bands, and reasoning about the blessings of peace and the dangers attending war, laboured thus to tutor men in arms. To many this was matter of derision; to more it proved annoying and tiresome: Nor were there wanting some to thrust him thence violently and to push him with their hands and feet, till through the persuasions of all the more moderate, and the menaces of others, he forbore his lessons of wisdom so ill-timed. Thither too had repaired the Vestal Virgins with letters from Vitellius to Antonius: In these he desired, 'That the battle, which was to be the last, might be suspended for one day; during that interval, all things would be more easily accommodated.' The Virgins were dismissed with all demonstrations of honour. To Vitellius an answer was returned, 'That by the murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitol, all means of ending the war by treaty were cut off.'

Antonius, however, by a speech to the Legions purposely assembled, tried to reconcile them to a temper, 'that of encamping by the Milvian bridge, and of entering the City not before next day' His motive for such procrastination was, lest the soldiery just after the heat of a battle, might be so transported as to shew no mercy either to People, or Senate, or even to the Temples and Domes of
the

the Deities. But they dreaded all delay, as the means to bereave them of victory. At the same time some standards seen shining upon the hills, though only followed by the weak and unwarlike populace, exhibited the appearance of the enemy's army. Presently they advanced to Rome, divided into a triple host : one passed along where it already was, upon the great Flaminian road ; another coasted the Tiber ; the third through the Salarian way moved towards the gate Collina. The multitude of Plebeians was forthwith routed by an onset of the horse. The soldiers of Vitellius moved to the attack, formed likewise into a threefold band. Many were the conflicts before the City, various the success, but to Vespasian's men chiefly favourable, as superior in the abilities of their Leaders. Sorely harrassed were they only who had wheeled to the left hand towards the Sallustian gardens, through lanes very narrow and slippery, where over them stood the Vitellians upon the walls of the gardens, and as they strove to climb, beat them down with stones and spears, almost to the close of the day, till by the horse who had burst in at the gate Collina, they were themselves beset in the rear. In the field of Mars too the parties joined in fierce encounters. For that of Vespasian appeared the concurrence of fortune, and of victory so often gained. The Vitellians were fired and driven headlong by pure despair, and though vanquished and routed, assembled again within the City and renewed the battle.

About the combatants the people were gathered as spectators ; and, as if they had been only attending the representation of a fight exhibited for public amusement and sport, they favoured and espoused now these, anon those, with theatrical shouts and clappings : Nay, as often as either side recoiled, and particulars had fled into houses, or lay

lay hid in shops, they insisted upon their being dragged out and slain, and thus came to enjoy themselves the largest part of the prey. For, whilst the soldiers were only pursuing blood and slaughter, the spoil fell to the possession of the commonalty. Tragical and ghastly was the face of the whole City; in one place deadly conflicts, and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious bathings and feats of riot; every where blood in streams, and carcases in piles, and just at hand wanton harlots, or such as resembled harlots; acts of debauchery and voluptuousness, as extravagant as ever were practised during a season of luxury and repose, with all the barbarities attending the most merciless captivity. Inasmuch, that you would have thought the same City at once transported with brutal outrage, and abandoned to sensual revellings. Rome had before seen contending armies in her streets, where Sylla twice remained conqueror, and once Cinna; nor was there then less cruelty exercised. But now, amongst men there prevailed an unconcern and security perfectly inhuman, nor for a single moment were their pursuits of pleasure postponed. Nay, as if this confusion and carnage had seasonably intervened to heighten the gaiety of their festival days, they exulted, they pampered and indulged, to both parties indifferent, and triumphing in public miseries.

In storming the intrenchments of the Camp the hardest task was found, as they were defended by all the most determined amongst the enemy, such who considered the same as their last hope and resource. Hence the more ardour manifested by the conquerors, as amongst them foremost in zeal were the old Prætorian Cohorts. All the inventions, used in attacking the strongest Cities, they now applied, the military Shell, missile Engines, Mounds, and flaming Torches. ‘ In this single undertaking
‘ they

‘ they all cried, would be completed whatever
‘ hardships, whatever perils, they had in so many
‘ battles undergone. To the Senate and People of
‘ Rome their City was restored, to the Deities
‘ their Temples. It was in the camp that the pe-
‘ culiar lot and glory of the soldiery resided : This
‘ was their Country, here was their household and
‘ their household Gods. These they were now in-
‘ stantly to regain, or to pass the night under arms.’
The Vitellians, on the contrary, though in num-
ber inferior, though unequal in their destiny, per-
plexed the victory, and retarded the pacification.
With blood they contaminated the houses, with
blood they profaned the altars, pursuing such feats
as prove the last solacements to men desperate and
vanquished. Upon the turrets and bulwarks many
lay breathing their last, many already breathless.
They who remained, when their gates were burst
open, uniting together, presented themselves con-
fidently to the swords of the vanquishers. In truth,
they all fell facing the enemy, and wounded only
before. Such, even in dying, was their concern to
die honourably.

Vitellius, seeing the City taken, was carried
in a chair through the back part of the palace to
his wife’s house upon Mount Aventine, with a
purpose, if he could by lurking there escape disco-
very during the day, to fly by night to his brother’s
Cohorts at Terracina. But from unsteadiness of
spirit, such too being the nature of dread, that to
one who fears all things, present things are ever
most irksome, he came back to the palace now deso-
late and wild : For all his slaves, even the lowest, had
slipped away, or else carefully avoided to meet him.
Terrifying to him proved the dismal solitude, and
every part still and silent : He tried apartments
that were shut : He shrunk with horror to behold
all void and desert. Weary at last with such, mi-
serable

ferable and solitary, wandering to and fro, he thrust himself into a hiding-place sordid and disgraceful, and by Julius Placidus, Tribune of a Prætorian Band, was dragged from it. Behind him forthwith his hands were tied: Thus, with apparel all rent, he was haled along, a spectacle foul and sad, many reviling him, no one bewailing him. Indeed such was the abasement and indecency of his end, as to have banished all pity. There met him one of the German soldiers, and with his sword drawn made a violent blow, whether out of fury and vengeance, or the sooner to release him from insults and derision, or whether aiming at the life of the Tribune, is matter of uncertainty. The Tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himself instantly slain. Vitellius they forced, with their swords pointed at his throat, now to hold up his head, and present his face to a deluge of indignities, anon to behold his own Statues tumbled down, and particularly to view the place of assemblies, and that where Galba suffered his bloody doom. In this manner they pushed him forward, and at last into the charnel of Malefactors, where the corps of Flavius Sabinus had lain exposed. One saying there was, which fell from him, favouring of no baseness of spirit; when to the Tribune treating him with roughness and insults, he answered, 'That nevertheless he had been his Emperor.' Then, under many wounds given him, he fell and expired. The common herd inveighed against him, after he was slain, with the same depravity of heart with which they had caressed him while he yet lived.

His father was Lucius Vitellius, his age that of seven and fifty years complete. He had acquired the Consulship, acquired Pontifical dignities, with a name and rank amongst the Grandees of the State, by no parts or vigour of his, but all through the lustre and elevation of his father. The gift of
Empire

Empire he received from such as never knew the man. In the hearts of the soldiers rarely had any man ever obtained such interest by worthy methods, as he by impotence and sloth. In him however was inherent a simplicity of spirit and liberality; qualities which, unless kept under restriction, grow inevitably pernicious. His friends he thought too secure, not by a conduct steady and unblameable, but only by mighty bounty, and thence rather deserved such, than had them. For the interest of the Commonwealth without doubt it was that Vitellius was vanquished and fallen: Yet they who betrayed to Vespasian the power and cause of Vitellius, can from their perfidiousness claim no public merit, since they had before revolted from Galba. The day now hastening to close, the Senate could not be assembled; for such was the affright of the Magistrates and Senators, that they had privately dropped away from the City, or concealed themselves here and there in the houses of their followers. Domitian, after all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, proceeded to the Leaders of the party, where the soldiers thronging about him, saluted him Cæsar, and all in arms conducted him to his father's house.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.
B O O K IV.

The S U M M A R Y.

The calamitous condition of Rome. Lucius Vitellius surrenders his person and his bands, yet is slain. The Sovereignty of Vespasian confirmed by the Senate. The fine character and accomplishments of Helvidius Priscus. His contest with Eprius Marcellus. Mucianus enters Rome. By him Calpurnius Piso is ordered to be slain. The causes and motions of the war in Germany, first began by the Batavians under the leading of Civilis. Next the Caninefates take arms. They demolish the fortresses of the Romans, cut off the Garrisons, overthrow Aquilius a principal Centurion, and afterwards Lupercus Mummius Commander of a Legion. The Veteran Cohorts of Batavians, in the service of the Romans, go over to Civilis, and rout Herennius Gallus striving to oppose them. The ancient Camp besieged by

VOL. III. N Civilis.

Civils. *The Roman soldiers mutiny against Hordeonius: the conduct of the war committed to Vocula. He advances against Civilis, is at first vanquished, yet by an accident gains the Victory. Again the soldiers mutiny against Hordeonius; nay, murder him. Transactions at Rome, and in the Senate: Contests: Accusations. The soldiers of Vitellius pacified by Mucianus. The assassination of Lucius Piso in Africa. The Capitol restored. The Treverians and Lingones revolt from the Romans; The other Gauls too waver: Small fidelity even in the Legions and Roman Cohorts, all corrupted by the Gauls. Vocula slain. The Roman soldiers swear allegiance to the Empire of the Gauls. The same do the Legions, after a long siege sustained in the old camp. The people of Cologne not slow to espouse the conquering cause. The Lingones the while routed by the Sequanians. At Rome the Empire judged in danger: Domitian the Emperor's son prepares to sustain the war in person assisted by Mucianus, four Legions forthwith sent forward. The Gauls assemble in council: The wiser sort declare for peace however clogged with bondage. Petilius Cerialis vanquishes the Treverians in a great battle. Many who had revolted return to the service and standards of the Romans. Cerialis soon after engaged in a sharp conflict with Civilis and Classicus; the beginning of the combat doubtful, the issue successful to the Romans. What happened to Vespasian in Egypt, his miracles there: His Sovereignty signified by oracles and presages.*

These the proceedings partly of the same year, partly of the next.

UPON the slaying of Vitellius, war was rather seen to cease than peace to commence. The vanquishers continuing in arms, hunted all over the City after the vanquished with eagerness

ness and implacable hate. Filled with carnage and mangled coarſes were the ſtreets; dyed and ſtreaming with blood were the Temples and places of public reſort, as in them were butchered all whom chance preſented to the deſtroying ſword. Nay, anon, this lawleſs violence increaſing, they ſearched private houſes, and dragged forth ſuch as lay hid. Where they beheld any one remarkably tall and in the prime of years, him they murdered without exception, whether he were ſoldier or citizen. This cruelty, which, during the freſh impulse of animosity and rancour, glutted itſelf with blood and killing, was afterwards transformed into rapaciouſneſs. No place would they ſuffer to remain private, no part ſhut up, pretending that there ſome Vitellians were concealed. The beginning this of forcing open houſes, or a ſure ground for committing murder where-ever oppoſition was made. Nor did the indigent part of the populace fail to aſſiſt in the general violence, and ſpoil. The moſt villainous amongſt the ſlaves were even forward to betray their wealthy Lords; others were expoſed by their particular friends. On all hands were uttered bitter wailings and the univerſal voice of anguiſh, on all hands ſeen no other than the miſerable lot of a City ſtormed and ſacked: Inſomuch that the ſoldiers of Otho and thoſe of Vitellius, however imperious and inſulting, and however once hated, were now miſſed and regretted. The Generals of the party, men ſo puiſſant and vigorous in kindling the Civil War, were found inſufficient to controul the ſpirit of victory. For, in exciting public tumults and convulſions, every the worſt man has the ſtrongeſt ſway: To uphold tranquility and peace, righteous deſigns are required and virtuous management.

The name and reſidence of Cæſar, Domitian enjoyed, but to the cares of government gave yet no attention; and only in feats of adultery and con-

stupration acquitted himself as the son of an Emperor. With the command of the Prætorian Guards Arrius Varus was invested. The supreme exercise and springs of authority rested in Antonius Primus. From the Prince's house he was continually plundering treasure, moveables, and domestic slaves, as if he were still seizing the spoil of Cremona. The rest, whether checked by their modesty or their meanness, as they had merited no distinction in the war, were likewise undistinguished by rewards. The City under great awe and terror, and quietly disposed to servitude, pressed 'to have Lucius Vitellius seized with his Cohorts upon their march from 'Terracina, and the remains of the war extinguished.' Hence the cavalry were sent forward to Aricia: The body of the Legions rested at the Town of Bovillæ. Nor did Vitellius pause a moment, but to the pleasure of the conqueror delivered up himself and his bands. His men too cast away their unfortunate arms, moved as much by indignation as by fear. Through the City passed the long train of captives guarded on each side by files of armed men: Not one betrayed a relenting or supplicant look. Grieved and vengeful they appeared, and to all the boisterous insults and derision of the mocking and petulant vulgar, shewed themselves scornful and unmoved. The few who broke forth upon the rabble, were oppressed by the guards, the rest imprisoned. From none of them fell a mean or degenerate expression; and though environed with wretchedness and distress, they maintained the renown of their constancy and courage, unstained. Next was put to death Lucius Vitellius, one in vices equal to his brother; in his brother's reign the more vigilant of the two, nor so much a companion in the sunshine of his fortune, as swallowed headlong in his tragical fate.

During

During the same time Lucilius Bassus was dispatched with a band of horse lightly equipped, to establish the tranquillity of Campania, as amongst the municipal Cities prevailed a spirit of animosity and contention, more in truth upon mutual disgusts than through any disaffection and contumacy towards the Emperor. Upon sight of the soldiers, present composure ensued; nor upon the smaller Colonies for their late opposition was any punishment inflicted. Capua was assigned to the third Legion for winter-quarters, and thence grievously oppressed were the illustrious families there. Yet to the people of Terracina so lately sacked by the Vitellians, no help was administered or relief. So much stronger is the bent of men to revenge an injury than to repay a benefit, because obligations are burdensome and painful; but vengeance taken seems to be something gained. Some consolation it proved, that the slave of Virgilius Capito, he whom I have mentioned to have betrayed their city to the enemy, was now fastened to a gibbet, dressed in the same rings which as a recompence from Vitellius he always wore. Now at Rome, the Senate decreed to Vespasian all the titles and prerogatives ever invested in former Princes, with great alacrity and hopes assured. For, as the civil arms were first wielded in the Regions of Gaul and Spain; as Germany too engaged in the war, and anon Illyricum; as the same civil arms had afterwards visited Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, nay all the Provinces and all the Armies; it seemed to the Fathers that, the whole world having thus undergone expiation, all dissensions were brought to a natural close. To heighten their joy they had letters from Vespasian, so conceived as if the war had yet subsisted, This was the construction which at first view they seemed to bear: Yet in them he used the stile of an Emperor, but chose expressions

full of courtesy when he mentioned himself, full of dignity when he mentioned the Commonwealth. Nor was the Senate wanting in acts of duty and obsequiousness. To himself with his son Titus for Collegue the Consulship was forthwith decreed; to Domitian the Prætorship and Consular authority.

To the Senate Mucianus too had sent letters, and thence furnished ground for observation and discourse. 'If he were indeed a private man, why did he assume the part of a public character in addressing himself to the Senate? In a few days he might have had an opportunity of proposing the same things from his place among the Senators.' Even his invectives against Vitellius were judged over-late, and unworthy of passing for bold and free. But big with haughtiness towards the Commonwealth, big with contumely towards the Emperor, was what he boasted, 'That in his own hands he had had the Empire, and freely bestowed it upon Vespasian.' But in privacy they smothered this their indignation and hate, whilst to the man their sycophancy was public and glaring. With many strains of eloquence very lofty and very honourable, they assigned him the decorations of triumph, in reality for his conduct in the civil Wars; but his expedition against the Sarmatians served for the pretence. There followed more grants of honours, the Consular ornaments presented to Primus Antonius, and to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus those of the Prætorship. Thereafter they turned their deliberations towards the Deities; hence was determined the rebuilding of the Capitol. And all these decrees arose from the propositions and reasoning of Valerius Asiaticus Consul elect. The rest assented by motions of their head and hand; as did some few signal in place, or of parts well trained in flights of flattery, by elaborate speeches purposefully framed. When to Helvidius Priscus, Prætor elect,

it came to speak his sentiments, he proposed such as upon a good Prince reflected much reverence and honour, such too as were void of all false court and insincerity; and by the Senate he was extolled with affectionate praises. Indeed this proved a very signal day to him, the beginning of mighty offence given, and of mighty glory earned.

Since I am here again led to name a man whom henceforward I must frequently mention, it seems incumbent upon me shortly to recount his course of life and pursuits, and what fortune befel him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal City of Terracina within the first precinct of Italy, the son of Cluvius who had sustained the rank of a principal Centurion. His bright and signal parts he wholly applied, whilst yet very young, to studies of the more noble kind; not as many do, to disguise spiritless indolence under a pompous name, but, in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all contingencies and disasters. He adhered to such Philosophers as maintain that only things just are good, that nought is evil save what is dishonest, and in the rank of things neither evil nor good, place, nobility, power, and all other acquirements which depend not upon the soul. Ere he had risen higher than the Quæstorship, he was by Thrasea Pætus chosen for a husband to his daughter: Nor from the character of his wife's father did he copy aught so studiously as his undaunted exercise of liberty. As Citizen, as Senator, Husband, Son-in-law, and Friend, in all the offices of life, signal was his uprightness and equanimity, ever contemning wealth, ever unmoveable from righteous judgment, never to be shaken by fear. There were some to whom he seemed over solicitous for fame; though the thirst of glory be such a passion as even wise men resign last. Upon the deadly doom of his father-in-law,

he was driven into exile, and returning in the reign of Galba, set himself to implead Eprius Marcellus, the accuser of Thrasea. The pursuit of this vengeance, though it is uncertain whether it were more daring or more just, rent the Senate into heats and contests. For, were Marcellus suffered to fall, the band of accusers were at once overwhelmed. At first the struggle between them proceeded with notable vehemence, and was by both signalized with excellent speeches. Anon as the inclinations of Galba were in suspense, and upon the interposition of many Senators with intreaties, Priscus dropped the process. Whence ensued various censures and discourse, according to the different humours of men, some magnifying his moderation, some charging him with want of vigour and firmness. But, upon the day when the Senate had under consideration the Sovereignty of Vespasian, as it was agreed to send Ambassadors to the Prince; upon this subject between Helvidius and Eprius, a bitter debate arose. Priscus insisted that they should be nominated by the Magistrates, first solemnly sworn; Marcellus, that they should be drawn by lot, the method already proposed by the Consul elect. But what in reality prompted Marcellus to such solicitude, was the apprehension of disgrace to himself, lest, were others nominated, he should be thought slighted and postponed. By degrees, from interchanging sharp words, they were carried into continued speeches full of asperity.

Helvidius desired to know, ‘ Why Marcellus so much dreaded the judgment of the Magistrates? ‘ He was master of wealth and of eloquence, nay, ‘ in the measure of both surpassed many others: ‘ unless he were perhaps urged and daunted by the ‘ memory and blackness of his crimes. By the use ‘ of blind lots and the urn no distinction could be ‘ made between the manners and characters of men. ‘ The

‘ The way of suffrages and of consulting the sentiments of the Senate, was purposely devised for searching the life and reputation of particulars. To the interest and well being of the Commonwealth it appertained, it appertained to the honour of Vespasian, that to compliment him there should be sent men of the clearest innocence in the Senate, such as with virtuous reasoning and discourse might season the Prince’s ears. With Thrasea, with Soranus and Sentius, Vespasian had entertained personal intimacy and friendship : And their accusers, though it seemed they must not be punished, yet ought not to be presented under the pomp of a public character. By the judgment of the Senate thus manifested the Prince would be as it were advised and warned, whom to fear and shun, whom to countenance and approve. No greater support was there of a righteous reign than righteous friends about the person reigning. It ought to suffice Marcellus that he had instigated Nero to murder so many innocents. Let him even enjoy the rewards of his services, and his exemption from punishment : Only let him leave Vespasian to more worthy advisers.’

Marcellus alledged, ‘ That it was no proposition of his which was thus warmly combated, but what had been proposed by the Consul elect, in pursuance of ancient precedents, which had left the election of Ambassadors to the decision of lots ; so as for caballing and the efforts of personal enmities, no place might remain. No new cause had occurred, why institutions framed of old should be abandoned to disuse, nor why the honour intended for the Prince should be turned to any man’s contumely and disgrace. For paying the homage designed, every man there was qualified. What they ought to be more solicitous to avoid, was left through the unrelenting

‘ stiffness of some certain particulars, his spirit might
‘ be incensed, whilst in his new Sovereignty he was
‘ yet possessed with doubts and apprehensions, and
‘ warily watching even the expressions and looks of
‘ all men. For himself; he considered the temper
‘ of the times in which he was born, as also the
‘ frame of administration instituted by our fathers
‘ and grandfathers. The primitive institution he
‘ admired; to the present settlement he adhered.
‘ For the blessing of good princes he bestowed
‘ wishes and vows; to princes good and bad he sub-
‘ mitted. It was not more through any pleading
‘ of his that Thrasea suffered, than through the
‘ judgment of the Senate passed upon him. With
‘ such mock displays of law was the cruelty of Ne-
‘ ro wont to sport itself. Nor smaller anguish had
‘ he himself undergone from a friendship so dan-
‘ gerous, than had others from a state of exile.
‘ To conclude, he consented that Helvidius should
‘ be equalled even to the Cato’s and Brutus’s, in
‘ constancy invincible, in courage not to be daunted.
‘ He himself assumed to be no more than one of
‘ that Senate, who had all, as well as he, yielded
‘ humble obedience to lordly power. He would even
‘ persuade Priscus, that he would not be towering
‘ above the Emperor, would not strive, by his pre-
‘ cepts and documents, to restrain Vespasian, an an-
‘ cient man, long since distinguished with trium-
‘ phal honours, and the father of sons already men.
‘ As the worst princes fought might without limits
‘ or law; to the other sort too, however excellent
‘ they proved, a measure and limitation in the ex-
‘ ercise of liberty was always well pleasing.’ These
reasonings, defended and opposed with mighty ar-
dour and earnestness on both sides, were heard by
the Fathers with inclinations divided. Prevalent
however proved the party who preferred the me-
thod of lots, since even such Senators as had ob-
served

served a neutrality, contended for retaining the ancient usage. Moreover every particular Grandee, signal in figure and elvation, leaned to the same course, from dread of envy should they themselves be chosen by the other.

There ensued another contest. The Prætors of the treasury (for then the Treasury was administered by Prætors) complaining of the Poverty of the State demanded that a retrenchment might be made in the public expences. The consul elect proposed to have the regulation of this reserved for the Emperor; so mighty he thought the task, so difficult the remedies. Helvidius declared for having it transacted by the option and controulment of the Senate. Already the Consuls were gathering the opinions of the Senators, when Vulcatius Tertullinus Tribune of the people interposed his authority, 'against making any ordinance about a matter so momentous in the absence of the Prince.' Helvidius had moved that the Capitol should be rebuilt by the Roman State, with the assistance of Vespasian; a motion which all the most modest Senators passed then over in silence, and afterwards forgot. There were some too who carefully remembered it.

Then fell Musonius Rufus upon Publius Celer, with a violent charge, accusing him 'of having by false testimony procured the doom of Barea Soranus.' The Senate thought that by this process would be revived the hate and rancour attending the prosecution of the accusers: Yet so guilty and vile was the person accused, that it was impossible to save him. For dear and adored was the memory of Soranus; and Celer was known to have made profession of Philosophy and wisdom, then to have become witness against Barea, a traitor to his friend, an instrument to destroy one whom he pretended to instruct. For the trial was appointed the next day
that

that the Senate met. Nor was it now so much Mufonius or Publius that created expectation and impatience, as Priscus and Marcellus and the rest : So intent were the minds of men to see vengeance pursued.

Such was the situation of things; amongst the Fathers factions and strife, the party vanquished full of rage, the vanquishers void of all authority, the City bereft of laws, bereft of the Emperor's presence, when Mucianus arrived in Rome, and in a moment drew to himself the universal sway. Quite sunk was the power of Antonius and of Arrius Varus; for but ill-disssembled was his animosity towards them, though by his looks he studied to hide it. But the City, always of notable sagacity in diving into disguists, had already turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To them alone court was paid; only to him all suit was made. Neither was he wanting to his own grandeur: In great state he removed from seat to seat, and shifted from one pleasant garden to another, always encompassed with an armed host. Such was his magnificence and equipage, such the pomp and solemnity of his port abroad, and such the guards at his gate, that he grasped all the essence and terrors of Sovereignty. The name he forbore. Mighty and general was the dread which accompanied the bloody doom inflicted upon Calpurnius Galerianus. He was the son of Caius Piso, and had never offered to disturb the State. But from his name and race so illustrious and ancient, and from his own person graceful and young, in the pratings of the comomnalty he had gained a reputation very popular and admired. Moreover, as the City continued still agitated and unquiet, and thence pleased with all new rumours, there were some who in absurd conjectures were investing him with the Imperial Diadem. By order of Mucianus
be

he was committed to the custody of a band of soldiers; and lest his death should minister more observation, were he excuted in the eye of the City, he was sent forty miles thence, along the great Appian Road, and, upon cutting his veins, perished by an effusion of blood. Julius Priscus, Captain of the Prætorian Guards under Vitellus, slew himself, pressed to it rather by shame than any necessity. Alphenus Varus, however guilty of dastardly conduct, and branded with infamy, continued to survive. Asiaticus too the Freedman by suffering the death of a slave, atoned for his late wicked sway.

During the same conjecture, the report of our defeat in Germany filled the City, yet afflicted it in no degree. 'Of our armies slaughtered; of the
' winter encampments in the Legions, taken and
' possessed by the enemy; of the revolt of all the
' nations of Gaul;' people discoursed as matter of news only, not as calamities. From what source and motives that war proceeded, with what mighty combustion it raged amongst strange nations and those of our allies, I shall here deduce and explain. The Batavians, whilst they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the Cattians, and, when driven thence by a domestic insurrection, sat down upon the extreme borders of Gaul, such as they found destitute of inhabitants, as also upon an island situated between the mouths of the Rhine, washed before by the Ocean, behind and on either side by the River. Neither in leaguings with the Romans, did they find themselves oppressed or exhausted by those their allies however more potent, nor served they the Empire in aught save men and arms; and they were long occupied in the wars of Germany. Soon after their military renown became augmented in Britain, whither were transported some of their bands of infantry, conducted, according to old and constant usage, by men of the first rank amongst them.

them. At home too they retained a body of select horse, signal for their exercise and dexterity in swimming, so as to cross the Rhine in troops completely armed and mounted in the stream.

Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis, men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. Paulus was slain by Fonteius Capito who falsely charged him with rebellion. Upon Civilis irons were put, and he sent to Nero; by Galba he was declared innocent and released; again under Vitellius he incurred capital danger, for that the army importunately craved his execution. Hence the rise of his anger and vengeance; and hence his hopes, founded upon our misfortune. But Civilis, who had a spirit more able and politic than usual to Barbarians, assumed to be another Sertorius or Hannibal, bearing in his visage a mark of deformity like theirs; and lest our arms might be turned against him as a public enemy, should he once appear to have revolted from the Roman people, he pretended an attachment to Vespasian, and to espouse his cause with zeal. It is certain, that by letters sent him from Antonius Primus, he was ordered 'to stop and drive back the forces summoned to succour Vitellius; and under colour of the insurrection in Germany, to withhold the Legions from removing.' The same caution and directions had Hordeonius Flaccus given in person to Civilis, from a mind well disposed towards Vespasian, and in tenderness to the Commonweal, upon which present destruction was surely falling, were the war renewed, and so many thousand armed men poured into Italy.

Civilis therefore utterly bent to rebel, yet meaning to smother for the present his mean drift, and in the mean while to adjust all his measures by the course of events, began on this wise to introduce the public change intended. By the orders of Vitellius,

tellius, the flower of the Batavian youth were called together to be lifted soldiers; a thing in its own natural tendency very grievous, yet aggravated and imbittered by the behaviour of the agents employed, men abandoned to rapine and debauchery. For the muster they singled out the ancient and infirm, purposely to have a reward for discharging them: Again, such as were of unripe years, but in their persons lovely, (and, in truth, most of their young men are goodly and tall) they haled away to suffer pollution repugnant to nature. Hence ensued much bitterness and hate: The ministers also of sedition, men purposely tutored and prepared, urged the people to refuse being enrolled. Civilis, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, assembled the chiefs of the nation, and the most daring amongst the populace, in a sacred grove: where, when they had rejoiced and caroused till far in the night, and he perceived them now warm and bold, he began an harangue, first displaying the praises and renown of their nation; then proceeded to enumerate the insults, the acts of oppression and violence, and all the miseries attending upon a state of servitude. ‘ For that in
‘ truth they were no longer held as confederates,
‘ but treated like bond-slaves. The coming of an
‘ Imperial Lieutenant, however oppressive and bur-
‘ then some his retinue, however terrible and im-
‘ perious his authority, was but a light grievance.
‘ The Batavians were surrendered to the rule and
‘ lust of small officers, Captains and Centurions.
‘ Nay, these, as soon as glutted with their blood
‘ and spoils, were changed; other devourers with
‘ empty bowels searched out, and new titles for
‘ plundering were devised, various and many. Over
‘ their heads at present hung the injunction to fur-
‘ nish soldiers; whence children would be rent from
‘ their parents, brothers from brothers, as it were
‘ by a last parting for ever. At no time had the
‘ Roman

' Roman State been more shaken and distressed, nor
 ' in their winter entrenchments was aught else to
 ' be found but store of spoil laid up, and men
 ' feeble and old. They should only lift up their
 ' eyes, nor dread the empty names and shadows of
 ' Legions. They themselves were masters of pow-
 ' erful forces, foot and horse; the Germans were
 ' their kinsmen; the Gauls had the same wishes
 ' and aim. Nor even to the Romans would this
 ' war prove displeasing; and whatever cross events
 ' it produced, the Batavians would of course put
 ' to the account of Vespasian. If it succeeded, of vic-
 ' tory no account was ever to be rendered.'

As with mighty concurrence he was heard, he
 bound them all in a combination, solemnized with
 barbarous usages, with maledictions and impreca-
 tions peculiar to the country. To the people Can-
 ine-fates emissaries were sent, to engage them in
 the same cause and association. This nation enjoys
 part of the island, in their own original and language
 the same with the Batavians, equal too in bravery,
 in number fewer. Anon, by secret inter-agents he
 suborned the Batavian Cohorts, once Auxiliaries in
 Britain, then sent into Germany, as above I have
 recounted, and now abiding at Magontiacum.
 Amongst the Canine-fates, signal for brutal bravery
 was Brinno, in his descent splendid and illustrious.
 His father after many hostilities and exploits against
 the Romans, contemned with impunity the ridicu-
 lous expeditions undertaken by Caligula to suppress
 him. So that the very name and merit of a family
 so rebellious recommended the son, who being placed
 upon a shield, according to the custom of the na-
 tion and elevated in procession upon the shoulders
 of men, was chosen their Leader, he forthwith,
 joined by the Frisians, a people beyond the Rhine
 now called in to succour him, passing by sea forced
 the winter encampments of two Cohorts, an acqui-
 sition

sition which lay nearest to be made. Neither did our soldiers foresee the sudden assault, nor if they had foreseen it, were they of force sufficient to have repelled it. The Camp therefore was taken and plundered. The foe next discharged their rage upon the victuallers and Roman traders, men, as secure of peace, confidently rambling abroad. They were also ready to have stormed and sacked the strong holds, which, since they could not be defended, were by the Captains of the Cohorts burnt down. Into the upper part of the island were drawn together the Ensigns and Banners, and remnant of men, under the command of Aquilis a principal Centurion, and furnished the name of an army much rather than the strength. For, Vitellius having withdrawn from the Cohorts their prime force, had to recruit them, encumbered with a burden of arms a spiritless crowd drawn from the next villages of the Nervians and Germans.

Civilis who thought it behoved him to cover all his measures with profound guile, even upbraided the Captains, 'for having abandoned their Forts. He himself, he said, would soon suppress the insurrection of the Caninefates, with no other power than the Cohort which he commanded. They, the rest of the Officers, ought again to repair instantly to their several quarters.' That under this counsel fraud lurked, since the Cohorts, were they separated, would be the easier overwhelmed, and that this war was headed not by Brinno but Civilis, was apparent, as from the German discoveries were by little and little breaking out, such as that people, ever delighted with war, could not long smother. When from these his wiles no success ensued, he had recourse to open violence; and, of the Caninefates, the Frizians, and the Batavians, composed three distinct hosts, each formed sharp in the front. The opposite army was embattled not far from the Rhine,

Rhine, and against the enemy too were ranged the ships, which, having fired their forts, they had conducted thither. Nor had the encounter held long ere a band of Tungrians went over with Ensigns displayed to Civilis. The soldiers, quite astonished with a revolt so surprizing, were slaughtered at once by their enemies and their companions. In the ships the same perfidiousness was found. Part of the rowers were natives of Batavia: These feigning themselves unskilled in that exercise, wilfully obstructed the mariners and combatants in the discharge of their office, and frustrated all their efforts. Anon defying all orders, they rowed away directly towards the enemy's shore. At last, whatever Masters and Centurions shewed not the same inclination, they butchered. Thus the Fleet intire, consisting of four and twenty ships, deserted to the enemy, or was taken by him.

Signal was the credit which immediately accompanied this victory; signal afterwards the advantage: By it the victors gained what they wanted, ships and arms, besides that through Germany and Gaul they reaped high renown, and were celebrated with applause, as the authors of national liberty restored. Both Germanies presently sent them Ambassadors with offers of succours. The alliance of the Gauls Civilis courted by presents and address. Such Captains of Cohorts as he had taken of that nation, he restored every one to his native residence. To the frank option of the Cohorts themselves he left it, to depart home, or to remain with him, as they listed. Those who would stay, he proposed to distinguish honourably in the service. With spoils taken from the Romans he presented all who went away. He at the same time reasoned with them secretly, and exhorted them to take warning from
' the series of calamities, which in so long a course
' of years they had suffered, whilst to a miserable
' state

state of bondage they falsely gave the name of peace. The Batavians, though exempt from tribute and payments, had yet taken up arms against the common oppressors of Nations: nay, in the first engagement, the Romans were routed and vanquished. What must be the consequence, were the Gauls too to throw off the yoke? What strength afterwards would be found to remain in Italy? With the blood of the Provinces the Provinces were subdued. Upon the disastrous arms of Vindex they must not reflect: It was in truth by the Batavian Cavalry that his followers the Eduans and Avernians were discomfited. The Auxiliaries too, led by Virginius against them, were partly composed of Belgic Gauls; and, in strict reasoning, only under its own native forces had Gaul sunk and fallen. At present they had all but one common pursuit, with the additional advantage of having in the Camps of the Romans acquired whatever sound discipline was practised there. With him already concurred the Veteran Cohorts, they before whom the Legions of Otho fell. Bonds might still be the portion of Syria and Asia, and of the East, Countries inured to the tyranny of Kings. In Gaul there were yet alive many men born ere Tribunes were known. What Germany had lately effected, was manifest; even the extirpation of bondage by the slaughter of Quintilius Varus. Neither was it such an Emperor as Vitellius, but Augustus Cæsar himself, that this brave people thus defied to war. Liberty was a blessing bestowed by the bounty of nature, even upon dumb beasts: fortitude and prowess was a felicity peculiar to man, to the most intrepid and brave the Gods were always sure to be aiding. Hence they ought, they who were unemployed, to assail an enemy on every side engaged; they who were in prime vigour,

‘gour, to fall upon men fatigued and exhausted.
‘Whilst some of them espoused Vespasian, some
‘Vitellius, by such division scope was left to annoy both.

Thus intent was Civilis upon drawing over the Provinces of Germany and Gaul, meditating if his scheme should succeed, to establish a Kingdom of Nations so extremely powerful and so extremely rich. Now Hordeonius Flaccus, by a course of dissimulation, fomented the first efforts of Civilis. But when messengers arrived full of affright, with tidings, ‘That the Roman entrenchments were
‘stormed, the Cohorts overwhelmed, and from the
‘Isle of Batavia the Roman name extirpated;’ he ordered Lupercus Mummius, Colonel of a Legion, (who, as the old Colonel had the Command in the winter-quarters of two Legions) to march out against the enemy. Lupercus forming an host of the Legionary soldiers encamped with him, of the Ubians drawn from the neighbourhood, and of the Treverian horse not far distant, led them along with rapidity, reinforced by a Squadron of Batavian Cavalry, men long since debauched in their allegiance, but feigning great fidelity, purposely to betray the Romans in the very heat of the battle, and then to fly away with the higher prospect of reward. Around him Civilis ranged the Ensigns and Banners of the vanquished and captive Cohorts, to spirit his own soldiers with these monuments of their recent glory displayed to sight, and to daunt and terrify his foes by thus recalling the remembrance of their sad defeat. In the rear of the army he directed his mother and his sisters to abide, as also the wives of his men, and even their little infants; as so many incitements to victory, at least to fill them with shame should the yield. Now when with the hideous chanting of the men, and the howlings of the women, the whole host resounded, by no means
equal

equal were the shouts returned by the Legions and auxiliary Cohorts. Nay, naked and unguarded was our left wing rendered by the Batavian Squadron, who immediately deserted to the enemy, then instantly, like enemies, turned upon us. Yet the Legionary soldiers, though on every side they saw consternation and disorder, still preserved thier ranks and their arms. The auxiliary Ubians and Treverians betook themselves to scandalous flight, shifting and dispersing all over the fields: Against them the German bent their fury and pursuit; and thus to the Legions an opportunity was ministered of escaping safely into that called the ancient Camp. Claudius Labeo, Commander of the Batavian Squadron, as a man engaged against Civilis in domestic competition, was by him removed to the Country of Frisia; lest, had he slain him, he should have drawn upon himself national antipathy and hate, or, were he suffered at home, he might kindle intestine division and quarrels.

About the same time, the agent by Civilis sent to the Cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, arrived amongst them, as, in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, they were upon their march to Rome. In a moment they took fire, and swelling with pride and contumacy, demanded, ‘ gratifications for their march, a Donative, double pay, and an augmentation of their Cavalry;’ all in truth promised them by Vitellius, yet now claimed with no view of succeeding, but only to seek cause of insurrection. Flaccus too by making them many concessions, effected no more than to set them upon requiring with greater imperiousness such terms as they knew he would refuse. So that scorning Flaccus, they took their route towards lower Germany, there to join Civilis. Hordeonius, in a Council of Tribunes and Centurions, deliberated, whether he should by strong hand repress these men who thus renounced

renounced their obedience : Anon he concluded to retain his soldiers within the trenches ; a purpose proceeding from impotence of spirit natural to him, and from the dismay of the Officers who were sorely perplexed with distrust and concern, for that the inclinations of the auxiliary troops wavered, and by precipitate levies the Legions had been recruited. Presently after finding himself seized with regret, and censured even by those whose advice he had followed ; as if he were now just ready for the pursuit, he wrote to Herennius Gallus, who commanded the first Legion, and then governed Bonn, ‘ to oppose the passage of the Batavians, and that he himself with his whole army would be sure to follow close upon their rear.’ Without doubt, they might have been totally overwhelmed, had Hordeonius from that quarter, Gallus from this, poured in their forces at the same time, and assailed them on each hand thus beset. Flaccus quite dropped the attempt, and, in other letters to Gallus, directed him, not to obstruct them from passing on. Hence the suspicion, that by the co-operation of the chief commanders the war was kindled, and hence all the many evils produced by it or apprehended from it, were construed to arise from no want of bravery in the soldiers, from no superior power in the enemy, but purely from the guile and baseness of the Leaders.

The Batavians, as soon as they approached Bonn, sent forward certain persons to lay before Gallus the instructions with which they were charged by the Cohorts ; ‘ That against the Romans, for whom they had so often made war, they meditated none, As they were weary and wasted with a course of warfare so tedious and so unprofitable, they only longed for their native homes and recess from labour. If no one withstood them their march should be inoffensive ; but if they had arms to
‘ en-

‘ encounter, they would find a passage by the help
‘ of their swords.’ The Roman Commander of
himself in suspense, was pushed by the soldiers to
hazard a combat. Three thousand Legionary sol-
diers there were, with some Cohorts hastily levied
in Belgia, as also a band of boors and of retainers
to the camp, a heartless and dastardly band, but
full of pertness and defiance ere danger came. At
all the gates the whole host sallied, with a purpose
to surround the Batavians, in number unequal.
They, like men old and experienced in the arts of
war, drew up in in triangular bodies, close on every
side, with their front, rear, and flanks all impene-
trable and secure. In this form they pierced quite
through our ranks thin and weak. The Belgians
recoiling, the soldiers of the Legion were repulsed,
and in great dismay fled to their gates and ramparts.
Here the greatest slaughter was made. With car-
casses and heaps the trenches were choaked and filled.
Nor was it wounds only and the hostile sword which
proved destructive; many perished in the disasters
attending the tumult, many by their own weapons.
The vanquishers avoiding Cologne, pursued their
march, and during all the rest of it, attempted no
act of hostility. To vindicate themselves from blame
for the fight at Bonn, they alledged, that they had
first sought peace, and had recourse to self-defence
when peace was refused.

By the accession of the Veteran Cohorts, Civilis
was become General of a regular and intire army;
yet wavering in his purposes, and estimating the
formidable might of the Romans, he obliged all
that were with him to swear allegiance to Vespas-
ian. To the two Legions also, which upon their
defeat in the former engagement, had retreated to
that called the old Camp, he sent Ambassadors, to
induce them to take the same oath. The answer
returned was, ‘ That they professed, not to follow
‘ the

‘ the counfels of a known Traitor nor thofe of
‘ public enemies. As their Emperor they acknow-
‘ ledged none but Vitellius, for him they would
‘ perfevere in fidelity and arms to the final moment
‘ of their lives. Hence a fugitive Batavian muft
‘ not affume the controulment of the Roman State,
‘ but prepare to meet the deadly doom due to his
‘ enormous crime.’ When to Civilis this reply
was recited, in a violent transport of fury and ven-
geance he excited the Batavian Nation to take
arms. With them the Bructerians and Tencter-
rians immediately joined: Germany was roused by
agents purpofely fent, and all were intent upon the
perquifites of plunder and renown.

To refift the efforts of a war fo threatening, and
fo many hostile combinations, the Commanders of
the Legions, Mummius Lupercus and Numifius
Rufus fortified their bulwarks and entrenchments.
The buildings which, during a long peace, had been
raifed near the camp, in fuch number and extent
that they refembled a large town, were all demo-
lished; left they might prove of fervice to the ene-
my. But, little availed this their precaution, un-
lefs they had firft conveyed into the Camp the pro-
vifions there contained: Thefe they permitted the
men to fnatch away. Thus in a few days was diffi-
pated, wantonly, a quantity of ftores which for
fupplying their neceffities would have fufficed a long
while. Civilis leading forth his hoft, commanded
the Centre in perfon, at the head of the felect for-
ces of Batavia; and to render his power the more
dreadful to behold, with huge bands of Germans
he covered both banks of the Rhine, whilft all over
the fields the horfemen were terribly bounding: At
the fame time too the fhips were drawn up the ri-
ver. Here the Standards of the Veteran Cohorts
were prefented to view; there the frightful images
of wild beafts, brought out of their forests and
faced

sacred groves, suitably to the different usage of distinct nations in proceeding to battle. Hence upon our forces, now besieged, dreadful consternation fell, from the sight of an hostile army so diversified as to represent at once the terrors of an intestine and of a foreign war. Besides, the hopes of the assailants were raised and enlivened by the large circumference of the entrenchments, drawn at first of extent sufficient to lodge two Legions, and now guarded by scarce five thousand men. With these in truth there were a multitude of retainers to the camp, such as upon the infraction of the public peace, had flocked hither, and were employed in the services of war. One part of the camp stood upon the side of a hill rising with a gentle ascent, another upon the plain. For, by this winter encampment, Augustus judged that both Germanies would be kept beleaguered and utterly restrained, nor once foresaw a time so disastrous to the Romans, when they would even bid defiance and come to invest our Legions. Hence neither upon the situation, nor upon the ramparts was any uncommon labour bestowed: Courage and arms seemed abundant bulwarks. The Batavians and they from beyond the Rhine, that the valour of each nation might glare more signally when apart, chose distinct posts, and began the assault by lancing their darts at a distance. Presently after, as most of these their weapons missive fell without any execution, and hung impotently in the turrets and pinnacles of the walls; nay, as they themselves were annoyed and wounded by volleys of stones poured from above; with violent impetuosity and shouting they rushed to storm the ramparts, the most part mounting upon scaling ladders, others upon the military shell formed by their companions. Already in truth some had reached the battlements, from whence they were hurled headlong by blows of sabres and shocks of

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bucklers, and then slaughtered with stakes and darts thrown after them, as men naturally vehement and precipitate in the first onset, naturally overmuch elated with success; and at this time so inflamed with thirst of prey, that they submitted even to bear calamities and sore distress. Nay, they even attempted an expedient utterly new to them, the trial of battering engines; and, as in these they were destitute of all skill, they had deserters and captives who instructed them to rear a frame of timber in fashion of a bridge, and, by the assistance of wheels underneath, to roll it forward against the fortifications: so as some being posted upon the arch, might from thence fight as from a mound, whilst others enclosed within it were employed unseen in demolishing the walls. But mighty stones cast from the missive machines quite overthrew and levelled with the ground the unwieldy and ill-compacted fabric. Then, while they were preparing shelters of hurdles and moving penthouses, upon them were discharged from the engines showers of flaming javelins. Thus even they who made the attack, were themselves assaulted by terrible weapons of fire. At length despairing of success from the method of force and storming, they changed their measures, and had recourse to time and leisure: For they were aware that within the camp there were provisions but for a few days, and a multitude large and unwarlike to maintain. They also hoped that from penury some treason would accrue, that loose and fickle would prove the fidelity of so many slaves, and that by the fortuitous events of war advantages would arise.

Flaccus, the while, having learnt the siege of the camp, and sent agents into the territories of Gaul to procure and accelerate succours, to Dillius Vocula, Commander of the eighteenth Legion, delivered a chosen detachment from the Legions,
with

with orders that by as large marches as possible he should speed away along the bank of the Rhine. He himself, as he was impotent and infirm, lingered behind, in his spirit quite benumbed, by his soldiers abhorred. They indeed raged against him, in a stile no wise disguised or obscure, 'That he
' had even consented to the departure of the Ba-
' tavian Cohorts for Magontiacum; he had falsely
' feigned ignorance of the machinations of Civilis;
' he had suffered the Germans to associate in the
' revolt. Nor had the co-operation and active aid
' of Antonius Primus, nor that of Mucianus, more
' notably ripened and enlarged the interest of Vespasian. Professed hate and hostility avowed were
' obvious to be known, and openly to be repressed:
' fraud and the efforts of guile lurked under darkness, and thence could not be escaped. Civilis
' was an enemy declared; he advanced to the encounter, he embattled his men. Hordeonius, out
' of his chamber, and from his couch, issued whatever orders he knew salutary to the foe. Yes;
' so many bands of men completely armed and of
' hearts undaunted, were controuled by one man
' enfeebled through age and sickness. More advisable it were by shedding the blood of the traitor, to rescue their injured fortune and bravery
' from an inauspicious General doomed to evil fate.' While yet warm with such discourses constantly passing amongst themselves, they were set on a flame by the letters brought from Vespasian. These, because they could not be suppressed, Flaccus publicly recited to the soldiers purposely assembled, and sent such as had brought them, in bonds to Vitellius.

The spirits of the men being thus mollified, they arrived at Bonn, the winter encampment of the first Legion. The soldiers there were yet more angry and incensed, since upon Flaccus they charged all the blame of their defeat; 'for that by orders from

‘ him, they had marched out to encounter the Ba-
‘ tavians, trusting to his engagement, that the Le-
‘ gions from Magontiacum should at the same time
‘ press them in the rear: Thus by his treachery
‘ their lives had been betrayed and sacrificed to the
‘ swords of their enemies, as to save them no suc-
‘ cours were sent. To all the other armies these
‘ transactions were utterly unknown, nor were they
‘ even transmitted to their common Emperor, when
‘ it would have been easy by the array and concur-
‘ rence of so many Provinces, to have suppressed
‘ a traiterous defection just begun.’ Hordeonius,
for his defence, in the hearing of the whole army,
recited the copies of all the letters which he had
sent into the Provinces of Gaul, into both Spains,
and into Britain, to press and solicit them for suc-
cours; and introduced a very mischievous prece-
dent, by appointing that what public letters came,
should be delivered first to the Eagle-bearers of the
Legions, to be by them read to the soldiers before
they were presented to the General. He then or-
dered one of the ringleaders of the sedition to be
committed to bonds, rather indeed to assert his own
authority, than that there were no criminals but
one. And the army moving from Bonn, proceed-
ed to Cologne, whither flocked many succours from
amongst the Gauls; a people who at first vi-
gorously supported the cause of the Romans: Anon
many of their cities, encouraged by the revolt in
Germany daily gathering strength, took up arms
against us, in hopes of recovering their liberty, as
also thirsting to bear rule over others, were they
once redeemed from servitude themselves. Now
still higher waxed the wrath of the Legions, nor
upon them had the example of one man committed
to chains, brought any awe or terror: Nay, that
One brought a charge too against the General,
‘ of being an accomplice with the rebels, and of
‘ oppressing

‘ oppressing him with a forged crime, to prevent his witnessing the truth, as between Civilis and Flaccus he had been an inter-agent.’ Instantly Vocula mounted the Tribunal with amazing courage, ordered this soldier to be seized, and, for all his exclaiming, doomed him to be led to present execution. Thus, while the guilty and ill-disposed were struck with dread, all the innocent and well-meaning paid ready obedience to his order. Then, as with one accord, they craved Vocula for their General, upon him Flaccus devolved the whole command.

Their spirits, already turbulent, many circumstances concurred to render quite outrageous: They wanted their pay; they wanted grain. The Gauls, too, haughtily refused to pay tribute, and denied to furnish levies. The Rhine, through drought never before known in that climate, was scarce deep enough for the bearing of vessels: Victuals were scarce: All along the banks guards were posted to repulse the Germans from passing: Hence less grain was supplied, and more mouths to consume it. With the vulgar it passed for a prodigy, that the waters had sunk so low; as if the rivers also, and the ancient bulwarks and boundaries of the Empire, had forsaken us: An event which during peace would have been only called an *accident*, or, at most, the *course of nature*, was at this juncture stiled the *decree of fate*, and the *vengeance of the Deity*. Upon their entrance into Novesium, the thirteenth Legion joined them. Herennius Gallus, Commander of a Legion, was taken into share of the direction with Vocula; and, as they durst not advance against the foe, they encamped at a place called Gelduba. Here they hardened and exercised the men, by arraying them frequently in order of battle, by digging the trenches, raising ramparts, and other devices and essays in war. Moreover, to

kindle them into valour and enterprize by the sweets and incitement of plunder, most of the army was by Vocula conducted against the adjacent territories of the Gugernians, a people who had confederated with Civilis. Part of the forces remained in the camp with Gallus.

It happened that, in the river not far from the camp, a vessel laden with grain struck in the shallows; and, as the Germans were pulling it to their shore, Gallus, who could not brooke the indignity, dispatched a band of five hundred men to save and recover it. The Germans at the same time had their number augmented; and succours on both sides by degrees flocking in, a general conflict ensued. The Germans carried off the vessel, with huge havock of our forces. The vanquished, according to the custom and mode for some time established, censured not their own spiritless behaviour, but Gallus as a traitor. Out of his tent they dragged him, rent off his apparel, covered his person with stripes, and imperiously commanded him to declare, 'for how much reward he had betrayed the army, and who were his accomplices.' Upon Hordeonius their spight and the common abhorrence recoiled: Him they stiled the *deviser of the villainy*, the other *his agent*. At length, terrified with their incessant menaces of present death, even he also charged Hordeonius with treason. Thus he was bound in chains; then upon the arrival of Vocula, released. The latter on the day following doomed the authors of the mutiny to capital punishment. Such was the strange contrariety of temper in that army; so prone to outrages, so tame under chastisement! Without question the common soldiers adhered sincerely to Vitellius: All the men of distinction were devoted to Vespasian. Hence the frequent vicissitudes of enormities and punishments, and instances of obsequiousness joined to acts of fury.

fury. So that such as would suffer no rule or restraint, could submit to bear severity and correction.

Now Civilis, through the universal concurrence of Germany, and by the arrival of infinite succours from thence, was raised to mighty power. For that people, to bind their alliance with him, had delivered as hostages the principal Lords amongst them. To these his confederates he issued orders, that they should severally, according to their proximity and situation, lay waste the territories of the Ubians and Treverians; and that another band should pass the river Meuse, to harass the country, and shake the faith of the Menapians, the Morinians, and the frontier regions of Gaul. In both quarters spoil and ravages were committed; but amongst the Ubians more implacably than elsewhere, for that they, who were by extraction Germans, having cast off and disowned their native country, assumed a Roman name, that of *Agrippians*. In the Town of Marcodurum their Cohorts were cut in pieces, whilst they lay heedlessly and unguarded, in their own opinion secure at such a distance from the Rhine. Neither did the Ubians acquiesce in the loss, but restlessly infested Germany, and carried off plunder, at first with impunity; but afterwards they were intercepted and slaughtered. In truth, through the whole course of the war, they behaved with more fidelity to us than success to themselves. When the Ubians were crushed, Civilis became thence more keen and implacable, and upon the fortunate issue of his efforts more elated and haughty, pressed forward with vigour the siege of the Legions. To prevent any secret messenger from entering with tidings of approaching succour, he carefully posted guards. Upon the Batavians he transferred the direction of the machines, and the task of carrying on the works. To those from beyond the Rhine,

urging to be led to the onset, he gave orders to level the entrenchments, nay, to renew the attack after they had been repulsed: For his host was over-
numerous, and the loss of men easy to be borne.

Nor did the fall of night put a period to this their toil and pursuit. Bringing together great quantities of wood, they set it on fire quite round the Leaguer, and betook themselves to banquetting and good fellowship: Then as fast as they were severally inflamed with wine, they flew to the attack with precipitation altogether fruitless and fool-hardy. For their own darts, thrown at random in the dark, fell without execution; whilst to the aim of the Romans the host of barbarians were presented conspicuous by their own lights; and every particular, signal for boldness, or the splendor of his armour, proved a sure mark. Of this Civilis was apprized; He therefore ordered, 'the fires to be extinguished, 'and **the** whole to be committed to the blind confusion of arms and darkness.' Hence instantly began an uproar various and confused, casualties and encounters unaccountable. Where-ever noise or tumult happened to be heard, thither they faced about, thither bent their blows: Of no availment proved bravery or manhood: By the mere anarchy of chance all things were wildly jumbled, all things disconcerted; and by the weapons of cowards the bravest men often fell. The Germans were actuated by fury void of forecast: The Roman soldiers, like men inured to perilous adventures, lanced poles pointed with iron, and stones huge and massy, nor lanced at random. As often as the noise of the efforts against the pallisade, or scaling ladders there planted, had drawn them upon the enemy, down they hurled them with the navels of their bucklers, and after them darted javelins: As many too had mounted the battlements, these they slaughtered with their swords.

When

When the night had been in this manner spent, the succeeding day presented a new method of attack. The Batavians had drawn out a Tower ready made, consisting of two floors, and were moving it towards the Prætorian gate, as thither the ground was most level. Against this structure strong booms were pointed and rammed, and mighty rafters heaved; when it was crushed to pieces, with mighty havoc of such as were posted upon its stories. Upon the foe thus baffled and dismayed an onset was made by a sudden and successful sally. The Legionary soldiers, the while, men practised and dexterous in mechanical devices for war, framed several machines: Signal beyond that of all the rest, was the terror caused by one which was hoisted up and waved over-head: This, suddenly stooping down, pulled the enemy aloft, sometimes one, sometimes several, just in the face of their fellows, and then, upon turning the weight, flung them into our camp. Civilis, having now dropped all hopes of succeeding by storm, had again recourse to an inactive siege, and only employed agents and great offers to shake the faith of the Legions.

Such were the transactions in Germany before the battle of Cremona; the issue of which was communicated by letters from Antonius Primus, who with them also sent the edict of Cæcina, the Consul. In truth, the Captain of a Cohort amongst the vanquished, Alpinus Montanus, in person acknowledged the sad fate of the party. Hence amongst them ensued emotions of spirit very different and opposite. The Auxiliaries from Gaul, men who towards neither of the contending parties felt either fondness or aversion, men who bore arms without attachment or affection for any cause, instantly revolted from Vitellius upon the persuasion of their Officers. The Veteran soldiers hesitated; but when Hordeonius proposed the oath, and the Tribunes

urged them to take it, they indeed swore, but without yielding any assurance of their conviction either in their countenance or their temper. Nay, when they repeated the rest of the form distinctly, they paused at the name of Vespasian, and either muttered it hastily, or which was the practice of the majority, passed it over in utter silence.

After this, to the soldiers purposely assembled were read the letters from Antonius to Civilis, and further provoked the jealousy of the men, as conceived in language proper for an associate in the same cause, and mentioning the German army under the style of enemies. Anon the tidings were carried to the Camp at Gelduba, and there again, the same things spoken and acted. Montanus was moreover sent to Civilis with instructions, to will him, 'to forbear war; to cease disguising hostile arms with false names and pretences. If to Vespasian he meant to minister aid, his pursuit was abundantly fulfilled.' To all this Civilis, at first, made an artful and crafty reply; afterwards when he observed Montanus to be of a spirit very violent and fierce, and prone to embark in public innovations, he began to complain, and to urge the perils which, without measure, he had undergone during a course of five and twenty years in the Camp and service of the Romans. He then added; a glorious recompence of my labours have I received, even the untimely death of my brother, even my own chains and imprisonment, even the cruel and implacable clamours of this army; and as by them my blood was demanded, by the law of nations I claim vengeance, and pursue it. For you, Treverians, and all the rest of mankind who have souls sold to bondage, what price hope ye for your blood so often spilt, other than warfare void of profit, everlasting tribute, rigorous rods and axes, and the spirit of lawless Lords domineering
over

over the helpless slaves? Behold me, behold the
' Caninefates and Batavians, me no more than the
' Captain of a single Cohort, them only a handful,
' a small portion of Gaul: Yet they and I have
' demolished their encampments so spacious and so
' unavailing; at least we beset them on every side,
' and urge them with famine and the sword. To
' add no more; by adventuring we shall either re-
' cover public liberty, or, if we be vanquished,
' suffer but the same slavery.' He then dismissed
Montanus thus roused and enraged, but with di-
rections to represent in a gentler strain whatever had
passed between them. He, upon his return, owned
his embassy to have been fruitless, but under diffi-
cultation hid all the rest, which anon broke forth
glaringly.

Civilis, retaining with himself part of his forces,
against Vocula and his army, dispatched the Veteran
Cohorts with whatever Germans he had remarkably
brave, assigning them for Leaders Julius Maximus,
and Claudius Victor, husband to his sister. In their
route they ravaged the winter encampment of a squad-
ron of horse, situated at Asciburgium, and with
rapidity so unforeseen rushed upon Vocula's en-
trenchments, that he wanted time to speak to his
men, time to array them in order of battle. What
only he could do in the confusion of an uproar, was
to advise, ' That with Legionary soldiers the cen-
' tre should be filled and fortified.' Round about
these the auxiliary troops were ranged. Presently
our Cavalry advanced to the onset, and being by
the enemy received with flanks steady and firm,
turned round, and retired flying to their own host.
What followed was downright slaughter, and not
a battle. Moreover the Nervian Cohorts, moved
through perfidiously or terror, leaving their sta-
tion, left our men naked on the flanks. So that the
attack was pushed on quite to the Legions, nay, the
Legions,

Legions, having already lost their Banners, were suffering carnage and discomfiture within their ramparts, when, on a sudden, by the arrival of fresh succours, the fortune of the combat was changed. The Gascon bands, lately levied by Galba, and at this juncture called in to assist their friends, as they approached the Camp, hearing the shouts of the combatants, fell upon the enemy in the rear whilst earnestly pursuing the defeat, and filled them with dismay much heavier than needed from a number no greater, for that amongst the foes many believed that supplies were come from Novesium; as did others, that they were the forces intire from Magontiacum. This mistake inspired the Romans with magnanimity; and in assurance of the help ministered by the vigour of others, they exerted their own. Of the Batavians all the bravest men throughout their infantry were cut off. The horse escaped with the standards and captives taken from us in the beginning of the encounter. There fell on our side, that day, the larger number, but of men the least valiant. Out of the German host perished the very strength and prime.

The Commanders on either side were equally to blame, and, having both merited evil success, were both wanting to improve their good fortune. For, had Civilis sent out a more numerous army, it could never have been enclosed in the rear by a few Cohorts, and having already broken into the entrenchments, would have likewise demolished them. Vocula, who had not so much as sent to spy the motions of the enemy, was not aware of their approach: Hence, as soon as he marched forth against them, he was vanquished by them. Next, when he had even obtained the victory, presuming little upon it, he wasted several days to no purpose, ere he moved towards the enemy. Whereas, had he hastened to press them, and to follow the course of events,

events, he might, with the same effort continued, have released the Legions from the siege. Civilis the while had tampered with the besieged, and tried to win them to submit, by representing, that upon the Romans destruction was brought, and utter despair, and that over them his forces had gained the victory. The Ensigns and Banners just taken were carried about, and pompously displayed; nay, in ostentation the Captives were all presented to view. Glorious was the resolution with which one of these at this time acquitted himself: With a voice confident and loud he explained the whole transaction, and was butchered upon the spot by the Germans. Hence the greater credit to his discovery. Moreover, by the sacking and burning of the villages it was perceived that the conquering army approached. Vocula ordered, ' That in full sight of ' the Camp the Standards should be erected, and ' round about a trench and pallisade to be made, ' that there lodging their baggage and burdens, they ' might engage without any encumbrance.' Hence the soldiers, craving to be led instantly to the assault, clamoured against the General; nay, they had even grown to a habit of threatening their Commanders. In truth, without staying to be ranged in order of battle, still weary, and their ranks disorderly, they wilfully proceeded to the encounter. For Civilis had already drawn up to receive them; nor placed he less assurance in the faults and licentiousness of his enemies, than in the valour and manhood of his own men. In the engagement, the fate and efforts of the Romans greatly varied, and all the most signal for sedition appeared spiritless cowards. Some, animated by the memory of their late victory, maintained their ground, gored the foe, roused their own vigour, roused that of their companions. Moreover, when they had thus re-
stored

stored their yielding battle, they held up their hands, and beckoned to the besieged, that they would not fail to improve the occasion. These, who from their battlements beheld the whole, fallied instantly at all the Gates. It happened too, that Civilis, being thrown by the fall of his horse, was through both armies reported and believed to have been terribly wounded, or quite slain; tidings which upon his own men brought dismay incredible, and upon his enemies incredible spirit and joy.

But after the flying foe Vocula made no pursuit. He only applied himself to enlarge the towers and ramparts of the besieged Camp, as if again the siege were at hand. Hence having so often misused victory, he was suspected, not unjustly, of studying to prolong the war. To our army nothing proved so annoying and severe as scarcity of provisions. So that the baggage and carriages of the Legions, and with these the unwarlike crowd, were sent away from the Camp to Novesium, that from thence they might bring back supplies of grain by land carriage; for of the river the enemy held possession. The first train passed in perfect security; for as yet Civilis had not sufficiently recovered his strength. As soon as he had learnt, 'that
' a party was again sent to Novesium for corn, that
' for their convoy some Cohorts had been assigned
' them, and that they journeyed in a negligent
' manner, as if full peace had been established;' he advanced against the loose band, the ment him about their Ensigns, their arms carried in the waggon, all straggling without order or restraint, each as he listed; and, with his troops regularly embattled, fell upon them under this disorder; having first sent forward some forces to post themselves upon the bridges, and in the passes. For a long way the combat continued, and with dubious success, till night parted the fray. The Cohorts reached to
Gelduba,

Gelduba, and found the Camp there in the same state, still secured by the garrison lately left in it. It remained no doubt what threatening danger must be incurred in the return, whilst they who carried the grain were loaded, and indeed already dismayed. Hence Vocula, in order to protect them, joined to his own army a thousand chosen men, detached from the fifth Legion and the fifteenth, the Legions besieged in the old encampment; men very fierce and unmanageable, and against their Leaders full of rancour. With those who were ordered to go more went without orders, and upon their march stormed openly and aloud, 'That they would no longer endure famine, no longer endure the frauds and wicked machinations of their Commanders.' Nay, they too who remained behind, made heavy complaints, 'That by thus drawing away one part, the rest were left desperate and forlorn.' Hence a twofold sedition, whilst some urged to have Vocula called back again to the Camp, and others refused to return thither.

In the mean time Civilis laid siege to the old encampment. Vocula proceeded to Gelduba. Anon to Novesium. Civilis then seized Gelduba. Anon not far from Novesium, our cavalry engaged the foe, and gained the victory. But whether after victory or defeat, still equally incensed and outrageous were the soldiers to thirst after the blood of their Leaders. Besides, as the Legions were augmented by the accession of a detachment from the fifth and fifteenth, they confidently claimed present payment of their donative; for they had learnt that the money was already sent thither by Vitellius. Neither did Hordeonius pause long, but distributed it in the name of Vespasian. This very thing was the chief spur and fuel to their disorder and insurrection. They instantly abandoned themselves, without all measure, to a course of debauchery, and good cheer,

to

to nocturnal revellings and cabals, and thus renewed their ancient fury and spite against Hordeonius. And as none of the general Officers or Tribunes dared to check or oppose them, (so much had the shades of night conduced to banish all shame) they dragged him out of his bedchamber, and then butchered him. Against Vocula the same bloody violence was prepared, had he not disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and escaped undiscovered in the dark. The moment their rage became appeased, dread and consciousness took place: Thus they sent Centurions with letters to the cities of Gaul to entreat succours and money. They themselves, upon the approach of Civilis, acted like every crowd without a ruler, always precipitate, always timorous and lifeless. At first they flew headlong to arms, the next minute dropped them, and took to immediate flight. Their distress begot dissensions amongst them: They from the higher army withdrew from the rest, and held an interest apart. Through the Camp, however, and in the Belgic Cities adjoining, the images of Vitellius were restored, when Vitellius in person was already fallen. In short time, remorse seized and reclaimed those of the first, of the fourteenth and of the eighteenth Legions, and they followed the command of Vocula. Of him they again took the oath to Vespasian, and were then led to raise the siege of Magontiacum (*a*). The besiegers were indeed now withdrawn, a motley army of Cattians, Usipians and Mattiacians, all associated for plunder, nor had they forborn feats of cruelty and blood. Upon them as they passed carelessly on in their way, dispersed and apprised of no danger, our soldiers fell sword in hand. The Treverians too had all along their own frontiers reared a wall and defence; nay, warred

(*a*) The City of Mentz.

red against the Germans, with mighty slaughter given and received. At last, by a revolt they stained all their glorious services done to the Roman people.

During these transactions Vespasian and Titus commenced Consuls, the former now the second time, and both absent, whilst in Rome great melancholy prevailed, and the City was racked with manifold fears. The inhabitants, besides the calamities which presently pressed them, had entertained imaginary terrors, 'as if Africa had rebelled, 'and Lucius Piso were there concerting a public 'change.' It was he who ruled that Province; a man who possessed a spirit far from turbulent: But because through the roughness of the seas in the winter-season, ships were detained from returning thence to Rome, the common herd, who were wont every day to purchase sustenance only for the day, they who of all public concerns are solicitous for none but the supply of public provisions, dreaded that the coast there was now guarded, that the transportation of grain was prohibited; and from dreading it, they believed it. The Vitellians too heightened the rumour; for they had not yet relinquished the spirit of party. In truth, such news were no-wise offensive to the conquerors, men whose rapacious passions no foreign conquest and spoil could ever satiate, much less any civil acquisition or victory ever satisfy.

On the first of January, the Senate, assembled by Julius Frontinus City-Prætor, awarded, by a solemn decree, the thanks and commendations of the public to the General Officers, to the Armies, and to our confederate Kings. Moreover, from Tertius Julianus, for having forsaken his Legion when it was about to espouse the cause of Vespasian, the Prætorship was taken away, and transferred to Plotius Griphus. Upon Hormus the Equestrian dignity was conferred. Soon after, Frontinus

nus resigning the Prætor's Office, the same was assumed by Domitian now intitled *Cæsar*. To all letters and all edicts his name was prefixed; but in Mucianus remained the controul and sway; only that Domitian, following the instigation of his intimates, or his own licentious will, boldly exerted many acts of power. But, to Mucianus the principal cause or dread accrued from Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, men covered with fresh laurels, signal for fame in war, followed by the zeal and affections of the soldiery, nay, beloved even by the populace, for that no man's blood had they shed, save in the heat of battle. Antonius was besides reported to have persuaded Scribonianus Crassus to assume the Sovereignty, as he was descended from ancestors very glorious in the State, and shone himself with the lustre derived from his brother; neither could he fail of a band of associates combined to espouse him; but that Scribonianus refused to comply, as he was by no means easy to be seduced, even though all measures had been already ascertained; so very fearful was he of engaging upon uncertainties. Mucianus, therefore, seeing he could not openly crush Antonius, after he had heaped upon him publicly in the Senate, praises mighty and many, loaded him in private with large promises, and particularly flattered him with 'government of the nethermost Spain, destitute of a ruler by the departure of Cluvius Rufus.' Upon the friends of Antonius he, at the same time, accumulated military promotions; preferred many to Governments, many to the dignity of Tribunes. Then, when he had with false hopes and ambition puffed up his vain spirit, he quite broke and dismissed the seventh Legion to their winter encampment, a Legion known to be transported with a very flaming affection for Antonius. Into Syria too was sent
back

back the third Legion, a body of men naturally attached to Arrius Varus. Some part of the army was conducted into Germany. Thus, by removing all the instruments of tumult and disorder, the City returned to her own pacific form, the Laws resumed their old course, the Magistrates their wonted functions.

Domitian on the day of his going to the Senate, discoursed concerning the absence of his father, and that of his brother, as also concerning his own youth and insufficiency, in very few words, and very modest; graceful as he was in his aspect and demeanour. Besides, as his bent and habits were yet unknown, his frequent blushes, and marks of confusion, passed for the effects of modesty and shyness. When Domitian proposed that all the abrogated honours of Galba should be restored, Curtius Montanus offered it as his sentiments, that to the memory of Piso also some public solemnity should be paid. The Fathers ordained both: But of what regarded Piso nothing was executed. Thereafter were drawn by lot a number of Commissioners, 'such as were to adjudge restitution of what ever had been usurped by violence during the war: Such too as were to inspect the Tables of brass upon which the Laws were engraven, and where by age they were decayed, to hang them up anew: Such also as were to purify the public records from the vile insertions with which through the sycophancy of the Times, they were contaminated, and to restrain the public expence.' To Julianus, as soon as he was known to have fled to Vespasian, the office of Prætor was restored; yet with Griphus the dignity remained. It was next agreed to resume the process between Musonius Rufus and Publius Celer. Publius was convicted and sentenced, and to the manes of Soranus atonement thus made. Signal was this day, as for
such

such an instance of public vengeance, so for matter of private merit and praise; since Musonius was esteemed to have procured, by his pleading, a just and satisfactory judgment. A Character very opposite clave to Demetrius, one who adhered to the sect of the Cynics, for labouring with views more ambitious than virtuous, to defend so notorious a criminal. Celer himself was utterly unfurnished either with courage under distress, or of speech to plead. Upon this signal given, for pursuing revenge against the accusers, Junius Mauricus made suit to Domitian, ' That to the Senate he would impart the registers of the late Emperors; whence they might discover who they were that solicited to be admitted accusers, and against whom.' He replied, ' That in an affair of this sort, the sentiments of the Emperor must be learnt.

The Senate, upon this occasion, devised an oath, by which they severally appealed to the Deities, ' That by no artifice or co-operation of theirs had aught been ever done to hurt the life of any particular whatsoever, nor from the calamities of their fellow-citizens had they ever reaped honour or price.' A precedent which the chief Lords of the Senate began; the Magistrates followed them with zeal, and even in competition; as did all the rest as fast as their voices were asked; to the great consternation of such as were conscious of their own guilt, and thence, by divers shifts and evasions, varied the words of the oath. The Fathers declared their approbation of the conscientious swearing: Against the turning it into perjury they expressed their indignation. Infomuch that, upon Sarioleus Vocola, upon Nonius Actianus, and upon Cestus Severus, all notorious for the incessant trade of accusing under Nero, such a declaration of the Senate fell very sorely, as if it had been a judgment passed in form against them. Nay, Sarioleus

riolenus was likewise pressed by a charge of iniquity just recent, for that he had laboured with Vitellius to introduce the same practices. The Fathers even threatened him with uplifted hands, nor forbore till he quitted the assembly. Then turning all upon Pactus Africanus, they set themselves to drive him too from amongst them, as it was he who had marked out for victims to Nero the two brothers of the Scribonian house and name, both signal for wealth, both conspicuous for fraternal unity and tenderness and pursued them to destruction. Africanus dared not to confess the charge, nor could he deny it. He therefore confronts Vibius Crispus, by whom particularly he was worried with questions, and against him urges the same dealings: and, striving to combine charges, which single or mixed he could not defend, he sought to evade the abhorrence of his guilt, by shewing others as guilty

Mighty was the name and applause, which, for natural affection and eloquence, Vipstanus Messalla that day acquired, by venturing, though not yet arrived at the age of a Senator, to plead for favour to Acquilius Regulus his brother. To infinite public abhorrence Regulus stood exposed, as the man who had destroyed the illustrious house of the ancient Crassi, and that of Orphitus. Of his own mere will and motion it appeared, that he had assumed to himself the accusation of these noble Romans, whilst yet in his early youth, through no necessity of averting danger from himself, but with a view to favour and power. Moreover, at this juncture, Sulpicia Pretextata, the widow of Crassus, and her four fatherless children, attended ready to pursue their just vengeance, were the Senate disposed to proceed to cognizance. Messalla, therefore, attempted not to vindicate the charge, nor the person charged; but, interposing between his brother and the danger that threatened him,
had

had softened some of the Senators. To defeat this his intercession, Curtius Montanus intervened with a speech vehement and stern, and in it carried his charge so high, as to alledge, ‘ That after the
‘ murder of Galba, Regulus had made a present of
‘ money to the ruffian who assassinated Piso ; nay,
‘ that he had greedily bitten the head of Piso, when
‘ separated from his body. To this, said he, surely Nero never compelled thee ; nor didst thou,
‘ by such inhuman barbarity, redeem thy dignity
‘ or life. From them, who judged it more advisable to bring destruction upon others than danger
‘ upon themselves, we may in truth bear this as
‘ their defence. Thou didst live in full security,
‘ derived to thee from the banishment of thy father, from the distribution of his fortune amongst
‘ his creditors, from thy young years not yet qualified for preferment in the state. Thou hadst
‘ nothing that Nero could covet from thee, nothing
‘ that he could fear. Lusting after blood, and ravening for rewards and gain, thou didst, with
‘ noble murders season thy genius, ere it was yet
‘ known, even before thou hadst proved it by appearing an advocate for any man ; when having
‘ brought the Commonwealth to her funeral and
‘ doom, thou didst, for such service, snatch the Consular Honours as her spoils and remains ; when
‘ gorged with a recompence of two hundred thousand crowns, when refulgent with the splendor of
‘ the Pontifical Office, thou hurriedst to perdition
‘ innocent Children, ancient and illustrious Men,
‘ Ladies signal in rank, involving all in one common ruin ; when thou chiddest the course of Nero’s cruelty as too slow, for that by gradually overthrowing family after family, he did but fatigue
‘ himself and all the accusers, when it was in his
‘ power to crush the whole body of the Senate with
‘ a single breath.

‘ Retain

‘ Retain amongst you, Conscript Fathers, and
‘ to further use reserve a man capable of giving
‘ counsel so decisive, a counsel so suddenly to be
‘ executed; that with such an instructor every ge-
‘ neration may be supplied; and as our ancient
‘ men imitate Crispus and Marcellus, so our young
‘ may Regulus: Even in wickedness which proves
‘ unsuccessful, men find followers and rivals: What
‘ must be the consequence, where it exalts its head
‘ and prospers? Nay, if we dare not offend a man
‘ whilst yet only Quæstor, shall we willingly see
‘ him rise to be Prætor, rise to be Consul? Do
‘ you in truth conceive Nero to have been the last,
‘ the concluding tyrant? So believed they who
‘ had survived Tiberius; so thought they that had
‘ outlived Caligula; when in the mean time there
‘ arose one still more detestable, still more brutal
‘ and sanguinary. Of Vespasian we entertain no
‘ dread; such is the maturity of that Prince’s age,
‘ such the moderation of his spirit. But more
‘ lasting are the examples of justice and severity,
‘ than is the good, but perishing life of any mortal
‘ man. We grow faint, and our spirit droops,
‘ Conscript Fathers; nor are we any longer that
‘ Senate which, when Nero was slain, boldly claim-
‘ ed to have the tribe of accusers, and all the tools
‘ of tyranny, doomed to execution according to the
‘ rigorous method of antiquity. After the reign
‘ of a wicked Prince, the first day is surely the
‘ best.’

With such signal concurrence and unanimity of the Senate was Montanus heard, that Helvidius gathered hopes of being able to abase Marcellus. He therefore began; introducing first the praises of Cluvius Rufus, one who though equally wealthy, though equally applauded for eloquence, had in no instance, during all the Empire of Nero, wrought danger to the life and fortune of any man. Then, apply-

applying to Marcellus, he urged him at once with his own crying crimes, and with this worthy example. The minds too of the fathers were on fire for the prosecution. This Marcellus no sooner perceived, than making as if he were taking his farewell, and withdrawing from the assembly; 'I am departing, said he, and leave thee, Priscus, to controul a Senate which is thine. Go on, and reign even in the face of the Emperor's son.' There followed him Vibius Crispus; both enraged, but bearing different countenances, Marcellus with eyes full of vengeance, Crispus shewing a scornful smile. As they were going, their friends flocking to stop them, haled them back again. As the contest waxed more and more vehement, here maintained by the upright many, there by the powerful few, on both sides with much bitterness and rancour, in the strife of words the whole day was wasted.

The next assembly of the Senate, when Domitian had begun with a motion for 'obliterating the impressions of all resentment and anguish, and of every grievance arising from the necessity of the late times;' Mucianus proceeding to offer his sentiments, harangued at large in behalf of the accusers. To such withal as having begun, but afterwards dropped any process, and now offered to revive it, he applied with gentle dissuasions and address, and in the stile of request. The fathers, thus thwarted in their efforts to assert their liberty, ceased the pursuit. Mucianus, who feared that the judgment of the Senate might thus seem to be set at nought, and an indemnity to be declared for all the iniquities committed under Nero, remanded Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sossianus, both in the rank of Senators, back to the islands, whither they had been formerly banished, and from whence they had lately returned. Octavius, having lived in
adulter-

adulterous commerce with Pontia Posthumia, in a transport of love, for that she refused to marry him, had slain her. Sossianus, by a course of life altogether malignant and depraved, had brought deadly destruction upon many. Both indeed had been condemned to exile by a severe decree of the Senate, and, though to others leave was granted to return, both continued under sentence to the same punishment still. Nor even thus did Mucianus mollify the despight conceived against him. For Sossianus and Sagitta were accounted persons impotent and contemptible, had they been even permitted to return. But from the spirit of the accusers, many apprehensions arose, many from their great wealth, many from their great sway, which in mischievous devices only they had ever employed. What conciliated in some small measure the discontented minds of the Fathers, was, that in the Senate cognizance was taken of a cause conformably to the primitive usage. One of their own Order, Manlius Patruitius presented a complaint, ' That in the Colony of ' Sienna he had been insulted and beaten by the ' crowd, even by order of their Magistrates. Nor ' thus had the outrage ended : They had even con- ' strained him to bear the mummery of his own fu- ' neral, with many mock lamentations, and all the ' grimace of mourning, as also a torrent of taunts ' and contumelies uttered against the Senate in a ' body.' The persons accused were summoned, and upon conviction suffered capital punishment. The sentence was followed by a decree of Senate warning the populace of Sienna to learn a more respectful and modest behaviour. About the same time Antonius Flamma, prosecuted by the people of Cyrene, was condemned for extortion, and doomed to exile for his acts of barbarity.

During these transactions, the discontents of the soldiery were near flaming out into a sedition. They of the Prætorian Guards, who had been dismissed by Vitellius, and again incorporated for the interest of Vespasian, now claimed their former station. The soldiers who, upon hopes given them of the like distinction, had been drawn from the Legions, insisted upon the promise of the like preferment and pay. Nor in truth was it possible, without great slaughter, to have discarded the bands which had continued with Vitellius. Mucianus, therefore, proceeding to the Camp, directed the vanquishing army to be ranged along, with small intervals between the distinct band, and all under their particular banners and arms, thence with more certainty to discern during what term of years they had severally served. Then the troops of Vitellius, such as I have recounted to have surrendered at Bovillæ, with the rest who had been discovered and picked up in Rome, and in the neighbourhood of Rome, were produced, almost destitute of arms. These he ordered to be parted; ordered the soldiers from Germany, the soldiers from Britain, and whatever men else there were from any other army, to stand by themselves apart: A scene which at first view struck them with sudden consternation, whilst opposite they beheld, as it were, an army arrayed for battle terribly armed and displaying their weapons, and saw themselves surrounded, defenceless, in their plight despicable and fordid. But when they came to be divided, and haled hither and thither, terror spread over all. Signal particularly was the dismay of the German soldiers, as if such separation imported that they were destined to present massacre. Hence they embrace their comrades, hang upon their necks, desire a last and parting salute; implore, ' that they might not be deserted and left
' alone;

‘ alone; that where the cause was common and
‘ equal, they might not suffer a lot so particular
‘ and unequal.’ This moment they addressed and
conjured Mucianus, the next they besought Domi-
tian, though not there: Anon they invoked Hea-
ven, and all the Gods. Mucianus at last stayed
their groundless fear, by telling them, ‘ That they
‘ were all sworn to the same allegiance, all soldiers
‘ of the same Prince.’ The truth is, that to these
their tears and wailings even the vanquishing army
joined sympathising cries. Such was the issue that
day. A few days after as Domitian harangued
them, they heard him with minds now re-establish-
ed and emboldened. His offer of lands, and a set-
tlement, they confidently rejected; their former
stations in the army, and their pay due, was what
they prayed: A prayer indeed it was, but a prayer
which admitted no denial. They were therefore
received into the Prætorian Guards. Thereafter,
such as were aged, with such who had served their
just number of years, were honourably dismissed.
Others were discharged for their misdemeanours,
but discharged by intervals, and culled out singly
here and there; as the securest course to weaken
the combination of a multitude.

For the rest; it was moved in the Senate, ‘ to
‘ borrow from particulars the sum of about fifteen
‘ hundred thousand crowns;’ whether from the real
poverty of the State, or to have such poverty be-
lieved: And to Poppæus Silvanus the care of pro-
curing it was assigned. Yet soon after, such pub-
lic necessity disappeared; at least the pretence was
dropped. Next there passed a law proposed by Do-
mitian, for abrogating the succession of Consulships
bestowed by Vitellius. To Flavius Sabinus also
funeral honours were solemnized, with the same
splendor and state as if he had borne the great of-
fice of Censor: Glaring monuments of the signal

instability of Fortune, delighting thus to shift the lot of men, and to intermix the highest pomp and the lowest misery.

About the same time was slain Lucius Piso, the Proconsul. This murder is what I shall very truly recount, by beginning further back, and deducing a few particulars pertinent to exhibit the introduction and causes of such feats of iniquity. During the reign of the deified Augustus, and that of Tiberius, the forces maintained in Africa for defending the boundaries of the Empire there, namely the Legion and Auxiliaries, were subject to the authority of the Proconsul. Thereafter Caligula, a Prince of a wild and disordered spirit, and entertaining beside apprehensions of Marcus Silanus, who held the government of Africa, deprived the Proconsul of the command of the Legion, and conferred it upon an Imperial Lieutenant purposely sent over. Thus between two the measure of power was independently shared, and thence, as their orders came to clash and interfere, the designed dissention began, and was daily heightened by an obstinate and angry struggle of each to support his own. In truth, the authority of the Imperial Lieutenant, gained the predominance, either through their long continuance in office; or probably because men in lower stations are more busy and solicitous to emulate those above them; whilst all the Proconsuls most signal for eminence and quality, consulted their own security and self-preservation much more carefully than the maintenance of their jurisdiction.

At the present juncture the Legion in Africa was commanded by Valerius Festus, a young man magnificent and profuse, one who entertained very aspiring designs, and indeed laboured under great anxiety because of his near affinity to Vitellius. Whether in the frequent conversations which he had with Piso, he tempted him to public innovations,

tions, or rejected such temptation from Piso, is a matter of uncertainty; since at these their private interviews no man was present, and after the assassination of Piso, the most part inclined to judge favourably of the man who had slain him. Doubted it is not, that the temper of the Province, and of the soldiery in it, was averse to Vespasian. Moreover certain of Vitellius's party, having escaped from Rome, strongly represented to Piso, ' That all the ' Provinces of Gaul were fluctuating and disaffected; ' Germany was prepared and bent to espouse ' him; his own perils were evident and urging; ' and, in a dubious and suspected peace, safer it ' was to have recourse to war.' During these transactions, Claudius Sagitta, Commander of the Squadron of horse entituled *Petrina*, embarking for Africa, and forwarded by a quick passage, arrived there before Papirius the Centurion, one dispatched thither by Mucianus. Sagitta averred, ' That to ' the Centurion a warrant was given for putting ' Piso to death; that already Galerianus, his near ' kinsman and daughter's husband, had suffered his ' last doom; and only by adventuring upon some ' bold effort could he hope to save his own life. ' To pursue such an adventure two courses were ' offered to his choice, either instantly to assume ' arms, or to take shipping for Gaul, and there ' present himself as a leader to the armies of Vitellius.' Whilst to all these reasonings Piso continued perfectly deaf and inflexible, the Centurion sent from Mucianus arrived; nor had he sooner reached the port of Carthage but with a mighty voice he proclaimed how all things continued propitious to Piso, and even that he was raised to the Empire. Nay, whomsoever he met, all astonished at a revolution so sudden and wonderful, he pressed to utter in loyal shouts the same glad tidings and congratulations. Forthwith into the place of public

lic assemblies rushed the populace, ever ill-judging and credulous, and required that they might see Piso. With rejoicing and acclamations every place resounded; so little curious were they to learn the truth, and such was their abandoned appetite to flatter. Piso, either influenced by the intelligence from Sagitta, or restrained by his natural modesty, went not forth to appear in public, nor suffered himself to be accosted with the greetings and acclamations of the crowd. Having besides sifted the Centurion, as soon as he discovered, that the whole was a plot for drawing him into treason, and that his murder was intended, he commanded him to be executed. Nor to this was he so much prompted by any hopes of thence saving his own life, as by his abhorrence of the assassin; for that this very man, who had been one of the murderers of Clodius Macer, brought the same hands yet dyed in the blood of a General, to dip them again in that of a Proconsul. Having then by an edict, conceived in a stile of much grief, reprimanded the people of Carthage, he forbore even the ordinary functions of his office, continuing shut up at home, to avoid all occasion, however fortuitous, of raising any fresh insurrection.

But, as soon as Festus was apprised of the dismay amongst the populace, of the execution of the Centurion, with other transactions, some true, some false, all heightened according to the usual amplifications of common fame, he forthwith dispatched a party of horse to slay Piso. These flew with rapidity, and before the morning had quite dawned, forced the house of the Proconsul, with swords drawn. Nay the major part were strangers to the person of Piso; since for perpetrating this murder, Festus had chosen certain Punic Auxiliaries and Moors. Not far from his chamber they happened to meet one of his slaves, and asking him who he was, desired him withal to shew them where to find Piso.

The

The slave answering with a glorious falsehood, declared himself to be Piso, and was instantly butchered. Presently after they assassinated Piso; for amongst them was a man who knew him, even Bebius Massa, one of the Imperial Procurators in Africa, he who was already a busy instrument to destroy every excellent person, and will frequently recur to be mentioned amongst the causes of the calamities which we afterwards endured. Festus now removing from Adrumetum, where he had rested to learn the issue, proceeded to the Legion, and gave orders for committing to Bonds the Camp Marshal, Cetronius Pisanus, purely to avenge a personal enmity; but openly charged him as a minister and confederate of Piso. Upon certain soldiers too and particular Centurions, he bestowed chastisements; to others of them he ministered rewards; proceeding in both from no regard to justice or desert, but only like one who would claim the praise of having suppressed a war. Thereafter he extinguished the dissensions between the OEensians and Leptitanians, such as at first were occasioned by the pillaging of grain and cattle from the peasants, and from beginnings so small, rose to public armaments and combats. For the OEensians, who were fewer and inferior, had roused the Garamantes to their succour, a nation fierce and wild, and, amongst the circumjacent people, famous for continual robberies. Hence the Leptitanians became sorely pressed; insomuch that their territories, being on every side laid waste, they were confined within their walled Towns, and even there urged with fear and distress, till by the opportune arrival of our bands of foot and horse, the Garamantes were put to flight, and all the spoil recovered, except what some of the plunderers straggling from the main body had carried away to their huts

amongst the inaccessible desarts, and sold to such as lived in places farremote.

Now Vespasian when he had already received news of the victory at Cremona, already joyful tidings from all quarters, found many of all ranks and degrees daily arriving from Italy to acquaint him with the fate and fall of Vitellius. For, with equal boldness and good fortune, they had adventured to pass the sea amidst the dangers and horrors of winter. Upon him there also attended Ambassadors from Vologesus King of Parthia, with offers to assist him with forty thousand Parthian horse. A matter of great glory, and great pleasure to be courted to accept succours so mighty from these allies, and not to want them. To Vologesus thanks were returned with directions, that he should send Ambassadors to the Senate, and be made acquainted that the Commonwealth was re-established in peace. Vespasian, whilst he was bending all his thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome, heard evil and unpleasing reports concerning Domitian, ‘ That he assumed more than became the greenness of his years, and exceeded the bounds and character suitable to a son only.’ He therefore committed to Titus the principal forces of his army, in order to finish what remained of the war against the Jews. Of Titus it was said, that ere he departed from his father, he pleaded with him in a long discourse, ‘ to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence from such as brought criminal representations. Towards his own son it were just to bear a spirit of gentleness, free from all prejudice. Nor from Fleets, nor from Legions were such powerful bulwarks, and certain security found for the support of Imperial dignity, as from a numerous issue in the Imperial House. Our friends grew diminished with time; they often deserted us to follow

‘ follow Fortune, sometimes renounced us through
‘ desires which we could not gratify, or through
‘ such mistakes as we could not foresee : But from
‘ his own blood no man could be severed ; Princes
‘ above all men, could not, they who in their good
‘ fortune had others also to partake with them ;
‘ whilst to the nearest in kindred it immediately
‘ appertained to bear their adversities. In truth,
‘ even between brothers concord and unanimity
‘ would not prove lasting, where their common
‘ parent set them not first an example.’ Vespasian,
who by this reasoning was not so much reconciled
to Domitian, as charmed with the tender affection
of Titus, willed him ‘ to be of good cheer, and
‘ to study aggrandizing the Commonweal by war,
‘ and the exercise of arms : It should be his own
‘ task to insure public peace, and that of his fa-
‘ mily.’ He then put under sail all his nimblest
vessels laden with grain, though the sea continued
still boisterous and high. For such was the mighty
danger and extremity which then threatened and
alarmed Rome, that in all the public stores there
remained not above ten days provision of corn, when
the supply ministered by Vespasian arrived.

The care and office of restoring the Capitol he
bestowed upon Lucius Vestinus, one in rank no
higher than that of the Equestrian order, but in
public credit and estimation held amongst the first
Lords of Rome. By him were assembled the Sooth-
sayers, who directed, ‘ That the remains of the
‘ former Temple should be removed from thence
‘ into the marshes : Upon the same foundations the
‘ new one should be raised : For its ancient form
‘ was what the Deities forbid to be varied.’ Upon
the twenty-first of June, a day which proved bright
and fine, the whole space of ground set apart for
the Temple was inclosed with a cincture of sacred
fillets and chaplets. Into the circle passed such sol-

diers as were distinguished by names which were esteemed auspicious, bearing in their hands boughs of the victorious laurel. Next the Vestal virgins, accompanied by a train of children male and female, such as had fathers and mothers yet living, besprinkled and purified the place with water drawn from the neighbouring springs and running streams. Then Helvidius Priscus the Prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus the pontiff, sanctified the floor with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull; and laying the entrails upon a sod of earth, invoked, ‘ Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and all the tutelar Deities of the Empire, that they would prosper the undertaking; that with their might, and influence divine, they would advance and crown these their own mansions, begun by the zeal and piety of men.’ Having thus prayed, he reached his hands to the strings, to which was fastened a foundation-stone with the ropes to draw it; and instantly all the other Magistrates and Pontiffs, the Senators, the Roman Knights, and a great part of the People, jointly pulling, with common zeal and universal joy haled the vast stone to its place. Into the foundation on all hands were thrown pieces of silver and gold, and other metal, such as had never endured the fire, but just as they were generated in the mine. The Soothsayers, in truth, had given premonition, ‘ That neither with stone nor with gold ever destined to other purposes, the work should be profaned.’ To the Temple nothing new except height was added. This variation alone was declared to be conformable to the will of the Deities; nay, this was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former Temple, a public Structure intended to contain such an immense multitude of men.

The death of Vitellius the while, being divulged throughout Germany and Gaul, redoubled the fury
of

of the war there. For, Civilis throwing off all disguises, rushed into avowed hostilities against the Roman People. The Vitellian Legions would rather submit even to servitude from strangers, than bear the Sovereignty of Vespasian. The Gauls became spirited with mighty hopes and assurance, as they imagined that in all countries our armies were yielding to the same evil fortune. For a rumour flew, that ‘by hosts of Barbarians from Sarmatia and Dacia, our winter encampments in Mœsia and Pannonia were then besieged.’ The same distress we were said, without ground, to be suffering in Britain. But nothing so strongly moved them to believe the dissolution of the Empire to be at hand, as the burning of the Capitol. ‘The City,’ they said, had of old been taken by the Gauls; ‘but the mansion of Jove having escaped, the Empire had thence continued to subsist.’ The Druids too, actuated by an impulse altogether superstitious and idle, chanted vain Oracles, ‘That to the nations beyond the Alps, the rule and controulment of human-kind were thus divinely portended.’ It was moreover bruited abroad by flying fame, that the Grandees of Gaul, they who were sent by Otho against his competitor Vitellius, had mutually combined before their departure, ‘not to fail of attempting the recovery of their liberty, if the Roman People, through such successive civil wars, and repeated calamities, came once to be enfeebled and broken.’

Before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, there occurred no incident whence any conspiracy might be learnt. After his assassination, constant communication and interagents passed between Civilis and Classicus, who commanded the Squadron of Treverian horse. In nobleness and wealth Classicus surpassed all those of his country: His descent was royal, and signal had been the lustre of his race as well

well in peace as in war. He himself made his boasts, that by his ancestors he was rather an enemy to the Roman People, than an assistant and ally. With him there associated Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus, this one of the Lingones, the former one of the Treverians. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to the charge of guarding the Rhine. Sabinus, besides that he was a man naturally vain, was intoxicated and inflamed with the imaginary glory of a fictitious descent, 'as if to his great grandmother, the deified Julius Cæsar, then warring in Gaul, had proved an admirer and adulterer.' These three, in conferences secretly held, sounded the minds of the rest. Then, having engaged as accomplices such whom they judged proper, they assembled together in a private house at Cologne; for in general that City detested such designs. Yet in the cabal were present certain Ubians and Tungrians. But amongst the Treverians and Lingones was found the principal weight and sway. Nor could they brook any delay occasioned by debating and consulting: With one common consent and emulation they proclaimed, 'That the Romans were possessed with the madness of intestine rage, and destroying one another; the Legions were slaughtered, Italy laid desolate, nay, Rome itself taken by violence; all the Roman armies engaged, each in a different war. Now, were the Alps secured, and their passes defended by garrisons, and public liberty once fully re-established, the people of Gaul might then deliberate how far they would chuse to push and extend their own power.'

At once pronounced and approved were these allegations. The only hesitation which occurred was how to dispose of the residue of the Vitellian army. Many proposed to massacre all, as men altogether turbulent, altogether faithless, and contaminated with the blood of their Generals. But
more

more prevalent was the consideration offered for sparing them, 'left upon seeing themselves bereft of all hopes of mercy, despair should rouse them to vigour and vengeance. They were rather to be gently used, and thus inticed into the conspiracy. Were only the Commanders of the Legions put to the sword, the mere crowd, then destitute of a head, conscious of their guilt and crimes, and hoping for impunity, would easily be brought to join.' This was the substance of their first consultation; and into all the Regions of Gaul incendiaries were dispatched to rouse them to war. To Vocula the while the accomplices feigned perfect obsequiousness and duty, thence to surprize and overwhelm him unprepared. Yet neither were there wanting some to apprize him of the conspiracy. But what he wanted was force to repress the conspirators; for thin of men were his Legions, and void of faith his men. Thus, between the faltering faith of his own soldiers, and a combination of secret enemies, he deemed it the surest expedient in his present distress, to exercise dissimulation also in his turn, and to pursue the same artifices with which he was pursued. With this view he repaired to Cologne. Thither fled Claudius Labeo, who having, as I have related, been taken and sent under ward to Frisia, to be there remote from the convention holden in Batavia, had escaped by corrupting his guard. He now offered, 'were he furnished with a band of men, to march into the territories of the Batavians, and recover the principal part of their State to the interest and alliance of the Romans.' Having therefore received a moderate force of cavalry and foot, he only induced some Nervians and Betasians to take arms, and against the Batavians ventured not upon the least attempt. He likewise overran the Caninefates and Marfacians, in truth rather

ther by surprize and feats of plunder than by regular war.

Vocula, incited and misled by the treacherous Gauls, advanced directly against the enemy. He was already near the ancient encampment, when Classicus and Tutor, under colour of learning the motions of the enemy, marched forward before the host, and at an interview with the German Leaders, ratified their mutual compact. Then separating from the Legions for the first time, they raised a trench apart, and encamped by themselves, in spite of all the adjurations of Vocula, who urged with earnestness, ‘ that surely the Roman State was not
‘ so much rent and distressed by all her civil Wars,
‘ as to become the scorn of even the Treverians
‘ and Lingones. To the Romans still remained
‘ many faithful Provinces, victorious Armies,
‘ the Fortune of the Empire, and the Gods armed
‘ with vengeance in their behalf. Thus had
‘ Sacrovir fallen, in times past, together with the
‘ revolting Æduans; thus more lately had Vindex
‘ and the Gauls, so many foes in so many encounters.
‘ Now again must they who thus wantonly
‘ violated the sacred bonds of leagues, expect the
‘ same heavy doom, with the wrath of the same
‘ angry Deities. Better than the late Emperors
‘ had the deified Julius, better too had the deified
‘ Augustus known their spirit. The benignity of
‘ Galba, and reduction of their tribute, had but
‘ inspired them with fresh malignity, and hostile designs.
‘ Because they had been holden in gentle
‘ subjection, they had now recourse to open enmity.
‘ As soon as they were routed, sacked, and
‘ impoverished, they would again be our friends.’
When with great asperity and vehemence he had uttered these expressions, and afterwards perceived that Classicus and Tutor persevered in their defection and treason, he returned back again, and proceeded

ceeded to Novesium. Two miles distant from thence the Gauls pitched in the open fields. Thither incessantly resorted our soldiers and Centurions, and there their venal spirits were purchased at a price. They even bargained to perpetrate an abomination prodigious and new, that they, a Roman Army, should swear solemn fealty to Foreigners; nay, give earnest of an iniquity so huge and flagrant, by shedding the blood of their General Officers, or by delivering them up under chains. Vocula, though by many persuaded to fly, judged it becoming him to dare danger, and therefore assembling the soldiery, reasoned on this wise:

‘ Upon no occasion have I ever entertained you
‘ with any discourse of mine, either under higher
‘ anxiety for you, or greater calm and security within myself. For, that against me you have concerted a tragical doom, is what I hear with cheerfulness, and amidst so many calamities from our enemies, await death as the welcome close and issue of my miseries. But for you I am filled with shame, filled with compassion; you who are now threatened by no impending combat, you against whom no host is now arrayed. Since this, in truth, were no more than the ordinary lot of arms, no more than the universal usage of hostile armies. Alas! with your hands and swords Classicus hopes to maintain a war against the Roman People: Nay, he boasts a new Empire of the Gauls, and that thither your allegiance is transferred. Suppose Fortune has at present failed you, and your bravery forsaken you; are there not examples of old to rouse you, how often the Roman Legions made it their choice rather to perish than to be driven from the post which they were to maintain? Often have even our confederates endured, upon our account, to have their native cities sacked and overthrown, endured to
‘ be

‘ be burnt themselves, with their tender wives and
‘ children, in one common conflagration. Nor
‘ other consideration had they for suffering a fate
‘ so tragical, than to preserve inviolate their faith,
‘ and their fame. Signal at this instant is the pa-
‘ tience exercised by our own Legions at the an-
‘ cient encampment: They are pressed with fa-
‘ mine, pressed with a siege; yet still persist un-
‘ shaken by alarming terrors, or by alluring pro-
‘ mises. To us here, besides the strength of men
‘ and arms, besides the defence and noble bulwarks
‘ of our Camp, there remain stores of grain, stores
‘ of provision, such as would last even during a
‘ long war. Treasure was lately found, abundant
‘ to discharge even the public Donative; which,
‘ whether you chuse to construe it as presented by
‘ Vespasian, or by Vitellius, is surely a largess to
‘ you from the Roman Emperor. For you who
‘ have proved victorious in so many wars, for you
‘ who have so often routed the enemy, at Gelduba,
‘ at the ancient encampment, in so many encoun-
‘ ters, to dread coming to a combat were indeed
‘ degenerate and unworthy: Yet, if you fear it,
‘ you may avoid it. You have ramparts and walls,
‘ and there are stratagems for gaining time, till
‘ from the adjacent Provinces bodies of Auxiliaries
‘ and compleat Armies arrive at once to relieve us.
‘ Be it so, that in me you find ground for distaste:
‘ You have still other General Officers, you have
‘ your Tribunes; nay, there are Centurions, or
‘ even common Men, whence to make choice.
‘ Only let not a story so monstrous be divulged over
‘ the face of the earth, that Civilis and Classicus
‘ are invading Italy with you for their champions
‘ and support. Were the Germans and Gauls to
‘ lead you against the walls of Rome, would you
‘ indeed like public enemies fight against your Coun-
‘ try? Horror seizes my soul whilst to myself I repre-
‘ sent

‘ sent an abomination so enormous and shocking.
‘ For Tutor, a Treverian, as for a Roman General,
‘ shall nightly guards be pompously posted? Shall a
‘ Batavian give the word in the Camp, a Batavian
‘ the signal for battle? Will you supply, as recruits,
‘ the German hosts? What will prove the end of
‘ such unnatural wickedness? When against you the
‘ Roman Legions shall advance embattled, will you
‘ then, from having deserted to the enemy, desert
‘ back again? Of old traitors to the Empire, will you
‘ become new traitors to your present friends,
‘ and thus distracted and entangled between old
‘ oaths and new, be miserably agitated to and fro by
‘ opposite inclinations and ties, pursued all the while
‘ by the vengeance of the angry Deities? Upon thee,
‘ O *Jupiter*, all Good, all Great, upon thee whose
‘ glory during a tract of eight hundred and twenty
‘ years, we have by the celebration of so many
‘ triumphs pursued; as also upon thee, *Romulus*,
‘ Parent of Rome, I with adoration call, that if it
‘ be not your will that under my command this
‘ Camp be preserved from all profanation and stain,
‘ at least suffer it not to be vitiated and unhallowed
‘ by Tutor and Clasicus. To the Roman soldiers
‘ grant hearts intirely innocent, or timely and guilt-
‘ less remorse.’

Various was the reception which this speech found, according to the different operations of hope, and fear and shame in the hearers. Vocula, having retired, was preparing to put a present period to his life, but by his freedmen and slaves restrained from preventing with his own hands an impending death altogether ignominious. Moreover Clasicus hastened his murder by the means of *Æmilius Longinus*, a deserter from the first Legion, purposely sent. Upon *Herennius* and *Numisus*, Commanders of a Legion, he judged it sufficient to inflict no more than bonds. After this he passed into the
Camp,

Camp, invested with the decorations of a Roman Ruler. But even Clasticus, though hardened to all feats of iniquity, found words and elocution to fail him, nor could he do more than just recite the new oath. All who were present swore allegiance to the sovereignty and empire of the Gauls. Upon the murderer of Vocula he conferred a higher rank in the service, and upon others proper rewards, according as each had signalized himself in deeds of infamy. Between Tutor and Clasticus was shared the charge of administering the war. Tutor at the head of a powerful band begirt Cologne, and obliged the inhabitants to take the same oath, as he did all the soldiers who lay further up the Rhine: For at Magon-tiacum the Tribunes and Camp-Marshal having refused it, the former he slew, the other he drove from thence. Clasticus culling out every the most notorious profligate from amongst those who had gone over to the enemy, ordered them to ‘ proceed to the ancient encampment, and upon the men besieged there to press the tempting offer of full pardon and mercy, if they would comply with the present measures: otherwise, they had no resource of hope. Devouring famine, and the raging sword, with the last and most unrelenting miseries, was what they must expect and endure.’ To this message they who were sent added the argument and influence of their own example.

Hither and thither the besieged found themselves swayed between honour and ignominy, here inspired by faith and duty, there urged by pinching want. During this their hesitation their provisions failed them, not only the ordinary, but even such as were extraordinary. For, having quite consumed in food their horses, their beasts of burden, and other animals, which, however abominable and impure, necessity had converted into use and sustenance; they at last supported themselves by plucking shrubs and plants,

plants, and picking the herbs which sprouted amongst the stones of the walls; and indeed shewed themselves glaring instances of wretchedness and patience; till upon so much glory they brought a foul stain by an issue very infamous, in sending deputies to Civilis to implore their lives. Neither were these their supplications received till they had first sworn homage and fidelity to the Gauls. He stipulated for the plunder of the Camp, then assigned guards to detain and secure the money, slaves and baggage, with others for a convoy to the men, who were departing thus divested of all. When they had travelled about five miles, the Germans rushed upon them, and assailed them in their march, utterly unapprized of danger. All the remarkably brave fell fighting upon the spot; many were slain flying and dispersed. The remainder fled back to the Camp. It must be owned, Civilis made sore complaint, and upbraided the Germans, 'That by this cruel proceeding they had violated their plighted faith.' Whether such resentment were feigned, or whether he really could not contain these violent men delighting in blood, is a doubt not easily resolved. When they had sacked and pillaged the Camp, they threw in fire-brands and set it on a blaze, and such as by escaping survived the late conflict, were every man now devoured by the flames.

Civilis, who, in pursuance of a barbarous vow, had suffered his hair to grow ever since he had taken up arms against the Romans, having now accomplished the slaughter of the Legions, cut short his long locks, lank and red. Nay, it was reported that to his son yet very young he presented some of the prisoners, to be by him pierced with arrows shot, and javelins darted, of such size as was fit for the diversion of a child. For the rest, he neither swore himself, nor made any Batavian swear fealty

fealty to the Gauls: For he relied upon the great power of the Germans; and concluded, that should it prove necessary to have a struggle with the Gauls for the supreme rule, he himself excelled in warlike renown, and had superior claim. Mummius Lupercus, Commander of a Legion, was with many other gifts, sent away to be presented to Velleda, a virgin, who was a native Bructerian, and ruled over a territory of wide extent. Such is the ancient usage of the Germans, as they imagine that in many of their women a spirit of divination dwells; and, as superstition is ever progressive and growing, they come to think them Deities. At that very juncture, the reverence and credit of Velleda were greatly advanced; for that, to the Germans she had prophesied all success, and to our Legions utter destruction. In the journey thither Lupercus was slain: A few Tribunes and Centurions, such as had been born in Gaul, were saved and reserved as pledges of public faith and alliance. The winter encampments of the auxiliary Cohorts, those of the auxiliary Horse, and those of the Legions, were razed and burned: Indeed none were left but that at Magontiacum, and that at Vindonissa.

To the thirteenth Legion, as also to the auxiliary troops which had with it gone over to the enemy, orders were given to retire from Novesium into the Colony of the Treverians, and a particular day was limited for their leaving the Camp. The interval they passed under agitations and anxieties many and various. Terrified were all the most dastardly by the fate of those massacred at the ancient encampment. The more valuable part were struck with confusion and a sense of infamy, when they reflected, ‘ What kind of march they had to make, ‘ under whose conduct they were to be led; and ‘ that all remained in the mere will and option of
‘ such

‘such as they had over themselves created Lords of life and death.’ Others, utterly insensible of any shame or disgrace, stowed about them their money, or whatever else they prized most. Some prepared their arms, and accoutred themselves, as if they had been proceeding to battle. Whilst in these thoughts their minds were employed, the hour of their departure came, and sadder it proved than their own sorrowful presages. For, within the circuit of the entrenchment the deformity of their condition was not so manifest and remarkable. By drawing them out into the fields, under the open day, their reproach became evident and notorious. From the standards were taken down the Images of the Roman Emperors: The Roman Ensigns were neglected and obscure, while on every side were seen resplendent the Banners of the Gauls. In heavy silence marched the wretched host, like a multitude solemnizing a funeral in a train long and mournful. For their Head and Leader they had Claudius Sanctus, one bereft of an eye, in his countenance hideous and truculent, in his faculties still more defective and impotent. The ignominy became redoubled by the accession of the other Legion, who had evacuated their Camp at Bonn. Moreover, as the rumour flew that the legions were led captive, all they who lately trembled at the bare name of the Romans, ran impatiently from the fields, out of their houses, and on all hands flocked in crowds to behold a spectacle thus surprizing and new, and indeed shewed themselves delighted with it beyond measure. These rejoicings and insults of the petulant populace, were what the Squadron of horse entitled *Picentina* could not bear: So that despising the fair promises of Sanctus, as well as his menaces, they went off directly to Magontiacum. In their way they happened to meet Longinus, (him who butchered Vocula) and covering the assassin with darts

darts and wounds, they thus made a step towards expiating hereafter their own faults and defection. The Legions, without offering in the least to change their route, proceeded, and encamped under the walls of the Treverians.

Civilis and Classicus, elated with a torrent of good fortune, had it under deliberation, whether to resign the city of Cologne to be sacked by their armies. From the savageness of their spirit and their avidity of plunder, they were prompted to the pillage and destruction of the town. What withstood them, was the policy of the war, and that they aimed at the renown of clemency, so useful and important to such as are erecting a new Empire. Civilis too was softened by the memory of a particular obligation, for that, upon the first rise of the public combustions, the people of that Colony having seized his son amongst them, had treated him under his confinement with great honour and courtesy. But the nations beyond the Rhine bore towards that city notable animosity and hate, for its signal opulence and increase: Nor in their opinion, could the war be otherwise ended, than by rendering it a place of free resort to all Germans in common, or by laying it quite waste, and thence dispersing the whole clan of the Ubians. The Tencterians, therefore, a people separated from Cologne by the Rhine, sent Deputies thither, with orders to declare their embassy to the common assembly of the city: And in the following strain the sternest of the Deputies pronounced it.

‘ For your return into the name and community
 ‘ of the Germans, we present our thanks to our
 ‘ common Deities, and to Mars the principal Deity.
 ‘ To you also we bring congratulations, that at
 ‘ length you will live like freemen amongst the free.
 ‘ For, till now, the Romans had hemmed in lands
 ‘ and rivers, nay, in some sort, the very air and
 ‘ sky,

‘ sky, purposely to cut off all the communication and
‘ intercourse between you and us, or to subject us
‘ to an indignity still more contumelious to men
‘ born for war, that of coming amongst you stripped
‘ of our arms, as it were almost naked, under
‘ a guard, and obliged to pay duty. Now in order
‘ to have this our mutual friendship secured and
‘ established for ever, we desire of you to demolish
‘ these bonds and ramparts of your servitude, the
‘ walls of your City. Even beasts that are naturally
‘ savage and wild, if you hold them confined, are brought
‘ to forget their boldness and vigour. We desire you to
‘ massacre all the Romans within your territories: Hard to be
‘ reconciled is popular liberty with lordly masters. We
‘ desire you, when you have finished the slaughter,
‘ to apply all their goods to the common lot and benefit,
‘ nor to suffer aught to be concealed, or appropriated by
‘ particulars to their own separate advantage. We desire
‘ that to us, as well as to you, it may be allowed to inhabit
‘ both sides of the Rhine, as of old it was to our forefathers.
‘ Nature, with the same equal hand, that upon all men
‘ bestows the universal blessing of light and day, has also
‘ given to such as are brave, a right of possessing all
‘ lands and regions wheresoever found. Resume the native
‘ institutions of your country, resume the hereditary usages
‘ of Germans, by shaking off all foreign luxury and
‘ voluptuousness, to which the Romans owe, much more than
‘ to their arms, the establishment of their power over
‘ subdued nations. Then, like a people in their primitive
‘ purity, and prime vigour, and forgetting all bondage,
‘ you will at least live independently yourselves, or perhaps
‘ bear rule over others.’

The inhabitants of Cologne, after they had taken time for consultation, when they found that it was
neither

neither consistent with their dread of future dangers, to submit to such conditions, nor with their present situation to reject them openly, made answer on this wise: ‘ The first occasion presented
‘ for asserting our liberty, we have snatched with
‘ more ardour than precaution, on purpose to be
‘ joined in union with you and the other Germans
‘ our brethren. To the walls of our City, instead
‘ of throwing them down, much safer it is to add
‘ new strength, whilst against us the armies of the
‘ Romans are thus terribly assembling. If within
‘ our borders any foreigners out of Italy or the
‘ Provinces have at any time been found; such the
‘ war hath consumed, or they are fled severally
‘ home. Of all those who were transplanted hither of old, and are linked with us by inter-marriages, as also of their descendants, this is the native country. Neither do we esteem you so
‘ merciless and unjust, as to require us to slay our
‘ parents, our brothers, and our children. All taxes,
‘ all duties charged upon commerce, we declare to
‘ be cancelled and abolished. Communication and
‘ resort hither we grant you free and unguarded,
‘ yet only during the day, and all arms apart, till
‘ such times as these rules and institutions, yet new
‘ and tender, ripen into age by daily habit and
‘ usage. For common judges between us we will
‘ have recourse to Civilis and Velea: Before them
‘ the compact shall be ratified.’ When the Tenterians were thus mollified, Embassadors were sent, with presents, to Civilis and Velea, and from them obtained all things pursuant to the wishes of the people of Cologn. But to appear in the presence of Velea, or to speak to her, was refused them. They were debarred from beholding her, thence to gain to her person higher veneration and awe. She herself remained shut up in a high tower. Thither
one

one purposely chosen from amongst her kindred, carried what the consultants proposed, and thence brought her answers, like the minister and interpreter of a Deity.

Civilis seeing his power increased by an alliance with the people of Cologn, determined to gain the neighbouring Cities, or to make war upon such as opposed him. As he had already won the country of the Sunicians, and formed their young men into Cohorts; to prevent his further acquisitions Claudius Labeo, at the head of a band of Betasians, Tungrians and Nervians, suddenly raised, set himself to withstand him. Labeo confided in the situation of his post; for he had before seized the bridge upon the river Maes: And as long as the encounter continued in the pass, the issue was uncertain, till the Germans swimming across, assailed him in the rear. Civilis withal flung himself into the band of the Tungrians, and whether through intrepidity, or by agreement and collusion he did it, declared with an extended voice; 'We have not therefore had recourse to war, that the Batavians and Treverians might exercise dominion over these nations. Far from us be such presumption. Receive us only upon terms of alliance. To you I commit myself without conditions, whether you chuse me for your Leader, or dispose of me as a common soldier.' With this speech the croud were struck, and all sheathed their swords, when presently Campanus and Juvenalis, two Chiefs amongst the Tungrians, surrendered him the whole nation. Labeo, ere he was quite beset, escaped. To Civilis also submitted the Betasians and Nervians, and to his other forces he joined them. He was thus become mighty in sway, since the several States were either awed by his power, or willing to follow his fortune.

Julius Sabinus, the while, having despitefully pulled down and broken the public Tables containing the Confederacy with Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, and leading a huge and tumultuous host of his countrymen, suddenly invaded the Sequanians, an adjacent State persevering in its fidelity to us. Nor were the Sequanians averse to fight him. To the juster cause fortune proved propitious. The Lingones were routed. Their Leader Sabinus, who with notable rashness had proceeded to battle, with equal cowardice and affright fled from it; nay, in order to raise a report that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled. There he was believed to have suffered a voluntary death. But by what singular artifices he lurked, and thence saved his life yet for nine years, I shall hereafter recount, as also the unshaken constancy of his friends, with the signal example shown by Epponia his wife. By the victory of the Sequanians the fury of the war was stayed. The several States began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, to consider mutual right and the obligation of treaties, the rest following the example of that of Rheims; This people published over all the provinces of Gaul a proposal and invitation, ‘for assembling their several Deputies, to consult, which conducted most to the good of the whole, Liberty or Peace.’

At Rome these transactions were all represented worse than they were, and filled Mucianus with anguish. For, though he had already chosen two signal Commanders, Gallus Annius, and Petilius Cerialis, he feared that they would scarce be able to bear the weight of the war. Neither was it safe to leave the City without a ruler. He dreaded the spirit of Domitian, pursuing his head-strong lusts. He distrusted Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus,

as above I have related. Varus, who commanded the Prætorian guards, was thence vested with power and arms. Him Mucianus displaced, and, as some solacement for his loss, set him over the public stores of grain. Moreover, to mollify Domitian, who wanted not affection for Varus, he bestowed the Command of the Guards upon Arretinus Clemens, one nearly allied to the house of Vespasian, and very dear to Domitian. He urged, 'That under the Emperor Caligula, the father of Arretinus had gloriously discharged the same trust: 'It was a name well-pleasing to the soldiery; 'and though he were by rank a Senator, he was 'equal to both functions.' In the intended expedition were employed all men of eminent quality in the City; as were others through application and interest: And now Domitian and Mucianus equipped themselves for war, with spirits very different; the former pressing and impatient from views of his own, and the fire of youth; the latter devising procrastinations and delays, thence to check his ardour, lest, following the impetuosity of his age, and instigated by mischievous prompters, were he once master of the army, he might disconcert all measures, whether for peace or war. There were led over the Alps the sixth and eighth Legions, these who had lately proved conquerors, as also the one and twentieth of the Vitellian Legions, and the second of the new levies, by different routes, some over the Penine and Cottian mountains, some over the Graian. From Britain was called away the fourteenth Legion; as from Spain were the sixth and tenth. The cities therefore of the Gauls, quickened by the tidings which flew of the advance of the army, and disposed of themselves to gentler counsels, assembled at Rheims. There waited here Embassadors from the Treverians, particularly Tullius Valentius, an incendiary vehemently exciting

war. He in an harangue purposely framed, vented a torrent of all the grievances and evils commonly objected to great empires, with many contumelies and odious imputations upon the Romans; for he had a turbulent spirit, fit to rouse insurrections, and was favoured by many for his intemperate eloquence.

But Julius Auspex, one of the Chiefs in the State of Rheims, displayed at large the might of the Romans, and the blessings of peace, shewed, ‘ That war might be undertaken even by the spiritless and cowardly, but must be conducted at the peril of all the active and brave, and that already over their heads hung the terror and vengeance of the Legions.’ He thus restrained all who had superior prudence, by the motives of reverence and allegiance, all the younger men by those of danger and fear. Thus they extolled the magnanimity of Valentinus, but followed the counsel of Auspex. Towards the Treverians and Lingones it is certain it proved matter of disgust and objection amongst the Gauls, that in the insurrection of Vindex, they had adhered to Verginius. From pursuing a general confederacy many were deterred by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several Provinces. It was asked, ‘ Where must be the head of the war? Whither must they recur for supreme authority and the direction of the Auspices? and, should all their pursuits prosper, what place would they chuse for the seat of Empire?’ No victory had they gained, yet already were they jarring. Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all these each claimed superior prerogative and rule. From their anxiety about future uncertainties and events, they at last agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the Treverians letters were written in the name of the States of Gaul, ‘ to lay down their arms
‘ whilst

‘ whilst their pardon was yet to be procured, and
‘ their friends ready to intercede for them, if they ma-
‘ nifested remorse.’ This counsel the same Valentinus opposed; and against it shut the ears of his Nation; not that he was so intent upon providing for war, as assiduous in popular harangues.

In truth, nor Treverians nor Lingones, nor others of the revolted nations, acted suitably to the mighty peril and difficulty which they had ventured to encounter. Even their Leaders united not to promote the common interest: Civilis was tracing the Belgic desarts, with design to take Claudius Labeo, or to drive him away. Classicus was mostly immersed in sloth and ease, as if his Monarchy were established in security, and he were thus enjoying it. Nor, indeed, did Tutor hasten to fortify with garisons the upper bank of the Rhine, no more than the ridges and passes of the Alps. During all this the twenty first Legion forced an entrance by the way of Vindonissa, as did Sextilius Felix with the auxiliary Cohorts through Rhætia. To these there joined themselves the Squadron of horse entitled the *Singular*, who had been formerly called to the assistance of Vitellius, and then espoused the party of Vespasian. Over them commanded Julius Briganticus, sister’s son to Civilis, hated by his uncle and hating him: Such usually are the enmities of relations, of all others the keenest. Tutor to his Treverian forces, already augmented by a fresh levy of the Vangiones, Ceracatians and Tribocians, added a reinforcement of Veteran foot and horse. These legionary soldiers, debauched by promises, or vanquished by fear, at first slew a Cohort sent before the rest by Sextilius Felix, but anon seeing the Roman Leaders and Armies approach, by an honourable desertion returned again to us. Their example was followed by the Tribocians, the Vangiones and Ceracatians. Tutor accompanied by the Treve-

rians avoiding Magontiacum, retired to Bingham, confiding in the situation of the place, for that he had broken the bridge upon the river Nava. But by the Cohorts who, under the conduct of Sextilius, pursued him and had discovered a ford, he was surprized and routed. By this defeat the Treverians were thoroughly struck and humbled. The common fort cast away their arms, and straggled over the fields. Some of their Chiefs, to appear the first who had renounced the war, repaired for sanctuary to the cities which had not relinquished their alliance with Rome. The Legions, whom I have above related to have been removed from Novesium and Bonn to the State of the Treverians, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to Vespasian. These transactions happened in the absence of Valentinus. As he hastened to return, full of rage, and bent upon reviving universal confusion and calamity, the Legions withdrew to the Mediomatriciens, a people confederate with us. Valentinus and Tutor urged the Treverians again to arms, and caused Herennius and Numisius, Commanders of Legions, to be slain, thence to strengthen the common band of iniquity and guilt, by precluding all hopes of pardon.

Such was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerialis arrived at Magontiacum. By his arrival, confident hopes were raised. He himself, passionate for fighting, and rather brave in despising the enemy than circumspect to ward against them, by the boldness and defiance of his language fired the minds of the soldiery: For he resolved, on the first occasion of meeting the enemy, to proceed without delay to battle. The levies made amongst the Gauls he sent home again to their respective cities, with orders to declare there, ‘ That for the defence of
‘ the Roman Empire the Roman Legions sufficed.
‘ Our

‘ Our allies might return to the ease and occupations of peace, in the same security as if the war were ended, since the Roman bands had now undertaken it.’ This behaviour augmented the duty and submission of the Gauls. For, having recovered again the youth of their country, they bore with the greater patience the exaction of Tribute. They indeed proved the more obsequious for being contemned. But Civilis and Classicus, when they learnt that Tutor was defeated, the Treverians slaughtered, all things prosperous to their enemies, were under great hurry and affright, and gathering together their scattered forces warned Valentinus the while, by repeated messages, not to risk the whole cause in a battle. Hence with the more rapidity Cerialis moved; and having sent certain persons into the region of the Mediomatrici, with directions to lead the Legions there by a shorter way against the foe, he drew into one body whatever soldiers he found at Magontiacum, with all that he had brought over the Alps, and in three marches reached Rigodulum; a place where Valentinus, with a numerous band of Treverians, was posted, defended and enclosed by the mountains and the river Moselle. He had besides added deep trenches with barricades of huge stones. These bulwarks daunted not the Roman General, nor stayed him from ordering the foot to force a passage, nor from leading the horse in battle array up the hill, in contempt of the enemy, as men who were levied at random, and could derive no such aid from their situation, but that his would find still more in their own bravery. In mounting the ascent some small stay was found, from the great flight of the enemies missile weapons. The moment they closed hand to hand they were thrown down, and tumbled like the ruins of a falling edifice. More-

over, part of the cavalry wheeling round the more level brows of the mountain, took the most illustrious Belgians, and amongst them Valentinus the General.

Cerialis on the day following entered the Colony of the Treverians, and the soldiers were passionate for destroying the City, for that 'this was the birth-place of Clasticus, this that of Tutor; men by whose barbarous wickedness the Legions were besieged and slain. What guilt so mighty had Cremona incurred, a city erased from the bosom of Italy only for having postponed for a single night, the glory of the conquerors? Upon the hostile borders of Germany stood this Capital untouched, nay, triumphing in the spoils, triumphing in the slaughter of our armies and Commanders. The plunder of the place let the Exchequer reap. To themselves, to the soldiers, the conflagration of the place and utter ruin of a Colony so rebellious, would be abundant satisfaction, such as would compensate the loss and destruction of so many Camps.' Cerialis dreading infamy to himself, should he be thought to inure the soldiery to licentiousness and cruelty, rebuked their rage, and they obeyed; for since the civil wars had ceased, they were more tractable and observant in such as were foreign. From this bent another object diverted their attention, even the miserable aspect of the Legions called from the State of the Mediomatrici. Sad and dejected they stood, filled with compunction for their ignominy and crimes, their eyes unmoveably fixt upon the ground. Between the two armies, when they joined, no mutual salutation ensued. To such as offered them consolation, to those who exhorted them to be of good cheer, they made no answer, seeking to hide themselves in their tents, and flying the light.

Nor

Nor so much through peril or apprehension were they thus confounded, as through shame and dishonour. Under consternation too remained the other body, they who had just been conquerors. As by arguments therefore and supplications they durst not intercede for themselves, they implored their pardon by silence and weeping, till Cerialis pacified their minds. He urged, ' That whatever had happened through the turbulence of the soldiers, the dissention of their Commanders, or the wicked artifices of their enemies, had been no other than the inevitable operations of fate. This day they must consider as the first day of their warfare and allegiance. Their offences past neither the Emperor nor himself would remember.' They were then received into the same Camp, and through every company an order was published, that upon any contest or dispute, no one should presume to reproach his fellow-soldiers with any past insurrection or defeat. Anon having assembled the Treverians and Lingones, he spoke to them in the following strain.

' The faculty of eloquence I never cultivated; and it is only by arms that I have asserted and maintained the magnanimity of the Romans. But since with you words are found of such exceeding weight; since good and evil are not estimated by their qualities and nature, but by the clamours of incendiaries; I determine to offer you a few considerations, which, since the war is dissipated, may be more advantageous for you to hear, than for us to have explained. Into your territories and those of the other Gauls the Roman Commanders entered not from any avidity or passion of their own, but at the earnest suit of your ancestors then urged by intestine quarrels carried on even to common ruin and desolation. Nay, the

‘ Germans, called in for succours, had fastened the
‘ yoke of servitude upon friends and enemies, with-
‘ out distinction. Abundantly apparent it is and
‘ glaring, in how many battles we have encounter-
‘ ed the Cimbrians and Teutones, with what in-
‘ finite fatigue and distress to our armies, as well
‘ as with what success, we have conducted so many
‘ German wars. Nor do we therefore guard the
‘ Rhine, that by it we may secure Italy; but only
‘ to prevent another Ariovistus from gaining the
‘ Sovereignty over the Gauls. Do you believe
‘ yourselves dearer to Civilis and the Batavians,
‘ dearer to the nations beyond the Rhine, than
‘ were your fathers and grandfathers to the ancestors
‘ of these? For the descent of the Germans into
‘ the provinces of Gaul, the same motives will be
‘ for ever subsisting, even the gratification of their
‘ appetites, their avarice, their fondness of chang-
‘ ing seats, that, forsaking their own marshes and
‘ deserts, they may possess this your fine and fertile
‘ soil, and you with it. But they tempt you with
‘ Liberty, with fine pretences and fine names. Nor
‘ did ever man thirst for dominion to himself and
‘ to put bonds upon others, without employing the
‘ same popular sounds. Tyrants and wars there
‘ ever were amongst the Gauls, till you submitted
‘ to our jurisdiction. We, however frequently pro-
‘ voked by you, have never exercised the right of
‘ conquerors further over you, than just to enjoin
‘ you what we found necessary for maintaining
‘ public peace. For, neither can nations be main-
‘ tained in repose without arms, nor arms without
‘ soldiers and pay, nor pay without tribute. In all
‘ other matters, your lot is the same with ours. It
‘ is you that frequently command our Legions, it
‘ is you that administer these Provinces as well as
‘ other Provinces. From you we keep nothing dis-
‘ tinct,

‘ tinct, nothing withholden. From the reign too
‘ of princes popular and beloved you derive equal
‘ benefit with us, however remote you live; and
‘ cruel princes are always ready to discharge their
‘ fury upon those who are nearest. With the same
‘ patience that you bear a barren season or tempest-
‘ tuous rains, and other natural calamities, learn to
‘ bear the prodigality or avarice of your Sovereigns.
‘ Vices there will be as long as there is men: Yet
‘ such misfortunes are not perpetual, and by the
‘ intervention and return of a better lot, compensa-
‘ tion is made. Unless, perhaps, you hope for
‘ gentler rule under the reign of Tutor and Classi-
‘ cus, and that, with impositions lighter than the pre-
‘ sent, armies will be raised and maintained, such as
‘ are able to repulse the Britons and Germans. For
‘ were (what the Gods forbid) the Romans expelled,
‘ what else must succeed but universal war of nation
‘ against nation? By propitious fortune and good
‘ discipline for a course of eight hundred years, has
‘ this frame of Empire been settled into compact-
‘ ness and strength, nor can it be rent asunder
‘ without bringing destruction upon such as rend
‘ it. But to you Gauls, of all men, the greatest
‘ danger is threatened, you who possess gold and
‘ wealth, things which are the strongest temptati-
‘ ons to war. Hence you ought to love peace and
‘ cultivate it, to love and reverence Rome, a City
‘ from which we possess in common, the vanquished
‘ and vanquishers, the same equal privileges and pro-
‘ tection. Take warning from experience, from
‘ your trial of both fortunes, and yield not to a spi-
‘ rit of revolt followed by destruction rather than
‘ to the duty of submission accompanied with securi-
‘ ty.’ With this discourse he calmed and encour-
‘ aged them; for they were apprehending a chastise-
‘ ment very severe.

The conquering army were yet in possession of the territories of the Treverians, when from Civilis and Classicus there came letters to Cerialis, and in substance contained, ‘ That Vespasian was ‘ certainly dead, though the couriers suppressed the ‘ tidings of his death. With intestine war Italy ‘ and Rome were utterly consumed; Mucianus ‘ and Domitian were only names, utterly vain and ‘ destitute of strength. Now were Cerialis disposed ‘ to assume to himself the Empire of the Gauls, ‘ they declared themselves content with the extent ‘ and bounds of their own State. But if to such ‘ a proposal he preferred a battle, neither was that ‘ what they declined.’ To Civilis and Classicus he returned no answer. Him who brought the letters he sent to Domitian. From all quarters the enemy advanced in parties. Many censured Cerialis for suffering them to join, when he might have surprized and routed them piece-meal. The Roman Army enclosed their Camp with a trench and rampart; for at first they had encamped without any defence.

In the German host were found opposite opinions and debate. Civilis judged ‘ it necessary to a- ‘ wait the arrival of the nations beyond the Rhine: ‘ Through dread of these the Roman forces would ‘ be struck with dismay and trodden under foot. ‘ Of the Gauls what other account could be made, ‘ but that they would be the sure prey of the conquerors? Yet the Belgians, who are the strength ‘ of the Gauls, espouse us openly, at least favour ‘ us in their hearts.’ Tutor maintained, ‘ That ‘ by procrastination and time the power of the ‘ Romans would increase, as their armies were assembling from all parts. From Britain a Legion ‘ was transported; from Spain there were Legions ‘ called; out of Italy the Legions were already advancing:

‘ vancing : Forces not hastily levided, but old soldiers trained in war. The Germans, whose coming they themselves hoped, were people subject to no authority, no discipline or management ; but guided in all things by their own headstrong humour. Of money and presents, by which only they were to be corrupted, the Romans had far the greater store ; nor was any man so addicted to arms, as not to chuse repose rather than danger, where the wages were equal. Now were a battle forthwith to ensue, Cerialis had no Legions to support him, save such as remained of the German army, and had stood engaged in a confederacy with the Gauls. Even their success in routing, beyond their own hopes, the tumultuous band led by Valentinus, was an incentive to their temerity and that of their Leader. Again they would assured venture, and thus fall into the hands, not of a youth void of experience, rather exercised in words and in animating popular assemblies, than in weapons and war, but into the hands of Civilis, the hands of Classicus. At the sight of these Chiefs, their former terrors would repossess their souls, their former flight and defeats, their former famine and miseries, with the sad reflection how often they had been taken captive, how often holden their lives at the mercy of these their conquerors. Neither were the Treverians or the Lingones staid by choice or affection to the Romans : They were ready to assume their arms as soon as their present fear was removed.’ Classicus ended the contest by approving the counsel of Tutor, and instantly they pursued it.

In arraying their army, to the Ubians and Lingones the center was assigned. Upon the right wing were posted the Batavian Cohorts ; upon the
left

left the Bructerians and Tenclerians. To the assault they proceeded with such suddenness and rapidity, part descending from the hills, others passing between the highway and the river Moselle, that Cerialis whilst yet in his chamber, nay, in his bed (for he passed not the night in the Camp) had at the same time an account of the encounter, and of the defeat of his men. Whilst he continued reproaching the timidity of such as brought it, the general havock and rout appeared manifest to his sight. The intrenchments of the Legions were forced, the horse put to flight, the bridge of communication over the Moselle, in the middle of the City, seized by the enemy. Cerialis, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, with his own hand staying and rallying the fugitives, daring and active, though void of armour, amidst swords and darts, by a happy temerity and the accession of all who were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge and secured it by a guard of chosen men. Anon returning to the Camp, flying and dispersed he found the companies of the Legions which had been taken at Novesium and Bonn, found the soldiers thin about their standards, and the Eagles nigh surrounded with enemies. Fired with wrath, ‘ It is
‘ not Flaccus, said he, it is not Vocula that you
‘ are deserting. Against me you have no treason to
‘ charge; nor in my conduct is there aught that
‘ needs to be excused, save my credulity in trusting
‘ that you had forgot your late alliance with the
‘ Gauls, and again recalled and held fast your natural fealty to Rome. It will be my lot to be ranked
‘ with such as Numisius and Herennius; so that of
‘ all your Generals not one might escape falling by
‘ the hands of his own soldiers, or by the hand of
‘ the enemy. Go, and acquaint Vespasian, or,
‘ which is nearer, go and acquaint Civilis and
‘ Classicus,

‘ Classicus, that in the field of battle you relinquished your Leader. The Legions are coming, they who will not suffer me to perish unrevenge’d, nor you to go unpunished.’

Very true were all these charges, and by the Tribunes and Captains the like were urged. They made head by single Cohorts, and small companies; for, they could not possibly extend their line, since the enemy every where poured in, and as they fought within the trenches, the tents and baggage proved notable obstructions. Tutor and Classicus, and Civilis, each in his station were all busy animating the fight. The Gauls they prompted by the temptation of liberty, the Batavians by that of glory, the Germans by the allurements of spoil. In truth, to favour the enemy every thing conspired till the one and twentieth Legion, finding a larger space, and embattling themselves in close array stood the shock of the foe, and anon repulsed them. Nor without influence divine did it happen, that they who were conquerors so suddenly changed their minds, lost their courage, and turned their backs. They themselves declared, that they were disinayed at the sight of the Cohorts, which at the first onset had been routed, but rejoining afterwards upon the tops of the hills, carried the appearance of so many fresh succours. But what marred their victory was a wayward contest amongst themselves about the booty, to pursue which they quitted their enemies. As Cerialis had by his negligence nigh ruined the cause, so by his vigour and bravery he restored it, and pursuing his good fortune, on that very day took the enemies camp and razed it.

Nor to the soldiers was long space allowed for repose. The people of Cologn besought aid, and offered to deliver up the wife of Civilis, and his sister, with the son of Classicus, all pledges left
with

with them to bind their mutual stipulations. In the interval they slaughtered all the Germans living amongst them and dispersed in their houses. Hence their dread and just petitions for protection, ere the enemy had recruited their forces and were prepared to engage in fresh designs, or at least to execute their vengeance. For Civilis too was bent upon proceeding thither furnished with no contemptible force, as confiding in a Cohort which he thought yet intire and the most resolute of all the rest, namely that composed of Chaucians and Frisians, and quartered at Tolbiacum in the territories of Cologn. But he changed his purpose upon sad tidings, that by the fraud of the people of Cologn the Cohort was destroyed; for the former having largely feasted the Germans, and when drunk and asleep, shut them in, set fire to their dwellings, and burnt them alive. At the same time Cerialis, by a hasty march, was come to protect that State. Another terror too beset Civilis, lest the fourteenth Legion, in conjunction with the fleet from Britain, should distress the Batavians, by devastations upon their sea coasts. But this Legion Fabius Priscus, its Commander, led by land into the territories of the Nervians and Tungrians, and these two States were taken under the Roman protection. Upon the fleet the Caninefates, without staying for an assault, made one; and the greater part of the ships were sunk or seized. Moreover, a large multitude of the Nervians, who of their own accord had taken arms in the defence of the Romans were routed by the same Caninefates. Classicus too had a successful encounter with the horsemen sent forward by Cerialis to Novesium: Disasters which, however inconsiderable, yet by being frequent and successive, impaired the credit and renown of the victory lately obtained.

During

During these days Mucianus ordered the son of Vitellius to be slain. He pretended, that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were crushed and extinguished. Nor would he suffer Antonius Primus to attend Domitian in the concerted expedition; such pain and jealousy he felt from the love of his soldiers to Antonius, as well as from the arrogance of the man, one so far from bearing a superior, that he could not bear even his equals. Thus Antonius retired and proceeded to Vespasian, where he was received, as not suitable to his own hopes, so without any ill countenance or sourness from the Emperor. The mind of Vespasian was under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of Antonius, by whose military conduct the war was unquestionably accomplished, on the other by letters from Mucianus. All the rest at the same time combining to disgrace him charged him with a pestilent spirit, swollen with pride and overbearing; and, to heighten the charge, added the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to invite enmities by his contumacious carriage: for with excessive ostentation he was wont to recount his exploits and deserts. The other Commanders he treated with despight, particularly Cæcina, as a captive, a mean spirit that had tamely surrendered. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character and estimation, yet from the Emperor still retained the face and appearance of friendship.

During the months which Vespasian passed at Alexandria, awaiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer, many miracles were wrought, whence was signified to Vespasian celestial favour, with the concurrence and designation of the Deities. A certain man of Alexandria, one of the commonalty, noted for want of sight, prostrating himself at his feet implored a cure for
his

his blindness, by a premonition from Serapis, the God whom that nation, devoted to superstition, adores beyond all others. He besought the Emperor, 'That with his spittle he would condescend to wash his cheeks and the balls of his eyes.' Another, lame in his hand, at the direction of the same God, prayed him to tread upon it. Vespasian at first derided and refused them. As they continued importunate, he wavered: Now he feared the character and imputation of vanity, anon was drawn into hopes through the intreaties of the supplicants, and the arguments of flatterers. At last he ordered the physicians to examine whether such blindness and such lameness were curable by human aid. The Physicians reasoned doubtfully: 'In this man the power of sight was not wholly extinct, and would return, were the obstacles removed. The other man's joints were distorted, and might be restored with regular pressure and straining. To the Gods perhaps the cure was well pleasing, and by them the Emperor was ordained the divine instrument to accomplish it. To conclude, from the success of the remedy the glory would accrue to the Prince. If it failed, the wretches themselves must bear the derision.' Vespasian therefore conceiving that within the reach of his fortune all things lay, and that nothing was any longer incredible, performed the task with a chearful countenance, before a multitude intent upon the issue. Instantly the lame hand recovered full strength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. Both events those who were present continue even now to recount, when from falsification any gain is no longer to be hoped.

Hence Vespasian was seized with a passion more profound for visiting the residence of the Deity, to consult him about the state and fortune of the Empire.

pire. He commanded all men to retire from the Temple, and then entered himself. Whilst he was there intent upon contemplating the Deity, behind his own back he perceived one of the Grandees of Ægypt named Basilides, one whom he knew to be then distant many days journey from Alexandria, and by sickness confined. He examined the priests, whether Basilides had that day entered the Temple: He asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the City. Then by horsemen purposely dispatched he full learnt, that he was at that instant eighty miles from thence. He then understood the vision to be divine, and from the name of Basilides inferred an effectual answer.

Concerning the original of this Deity the Roman writers are hitherto silent. The archpriests of Ægypt thus recount it; ‘ That when King Ptolemy, the first Macedonian who settled the Ægyptian State, had with walls fortified Alexandria then lately built, in it reared a Temple, and instituted religious rites, there appeared to him in his sleep a young man of signal beauty, in stature more than human, who admonished him to dispatch into Pontus some of his most trusty friends, thence to bring away his Statue; for that fortunate to his kingdom it would prove, and mighty and glorious would be the city which entertained it: That the young man having thus once appeared, mounted up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire.’ Ptolemy, struck with the augury and miraculous apparition, discovered this his nightly vision to the Ægyptian priests, whose profession it is to be skilled in things of this sort. But as they appeared to be ignorant of Pontus and of all things foreign, he had recourse to Timotheus the Athenian, of the race of the Eumolpides, one whom he had sent for from Eleusis, to preside in the administration

ministration of things sacred. Him he asked what kind of superstition this might be, and who that same Deity? Timotheus informing himself by such as had frequently passed into Pontus, learnt that the City of Sinope stood there, and not far from it a Temple of ancient renown amongst the natives, that of the *Infernal Jupiter*, for that by him stood also a feminine Statue by many called *Proserpina*. But Ptolemy who, suitably to the spirit of Kings, was very subject to dread, as soon as he had resumed his former security, more bent upon feats of pleasure than those of religion, came by degrees to neglect the pursuit, and apply his mind to other cares; till the same apparition now more terrible and urging, denounced certain perdition to his person and monarchy, if its orders were not executed. He then directed Embassadors and rich gifts to be dispatched to Scydrothemis, who then reigned in Sinope, with orders when they were ready to sail, to repair to the Oracle of the Pythian Apollo. Calm and favourable they found the sea, and the answer of the God void of ambiguity; 'That they should proceed, and with them carry home the Image of his father, but leave behind that of his sister.'

Upon their arrival at Sinope, to Scydrothemis they presented their gifts, their suit, and the instructions from their King. The Prince of Sinope found himself under different agitations of spirit. Now he dreaded to offend the Deity, anon was frightened by the menaces of the people opposing the removal of his Statue; and frequently moved by the presents and promises of the Embassadors, he was disposed to comply. In this negotiation three years were spent; for Ptolemy spared no intreaties nor cooled in his zeal; he augmented the number and dignity of the Embassadors, increased the ships, and added fresh store of gold. To Scydrothemis then

then appeared a spectre direful and threatening, warning him, no longer to retard what the Deity 'had determined.' Upon him whilst he still lingered, there fell calamities manifold, and sore diseases, with the vengeance of the offended Deities manifestly pursuing him and proving every day more and more severe. Having called a popular assembly, he explained to them, 'the injunctions of the God, his own vision with those of Ptolemy, and, the fearful evils which were impending.' The commonalty opposed the King. They envied Ægypt such an acquisition, apprehending evil consequences to themselves, and tumultuously encompassed the Temple. Hence common fame heightening the marvel, has recounted, 'That the God of his own motion, and without help, conveyed himself into the ships lying close to the shore.' Infomuch that, what is prodigious to be told, on the third day after, they arrived at Alexandria; in so short a space had they traversed such an immense tract of sea! A Temple was reared suitable to the greatness of the City, in a place called Rhacotis. There a Chapel had stood, dedicated of old to *Serapis* and *Isis*. These are the traditions of most renown concerning the origin and transportation of the God. Neither am I unapprized of what is asserted by some, that he was brought from Seleucia a City of Syria, in the reign of Ptolemy the third; or by others, that the same Ptolemy caused him to be removed, but that the removal was from Memphis, a City once very celebrated, the Head and glory of ancient Ægypt. The God himself many conjecture to be Æsculapius, for that by him the sick are healed. Some take him to be Osiris, a Deity of the highest antiquity amongst these nations. Many think him Jupiter as accounted the Almighty disposer of all things.

Most

Most of all imagine, that he is old Pluto, either from apparent tokens and indications about him, or from guesſes and inferences of their own.

Now Domitian and Mucianus, ere they reached the Alps, received tidings of the ſucceſſful feats againſt the Treverians. What proved the chief confirmation of the victory was the captivity of Valentinus the enemy's General, who with a ſoul no wiſe caſt down, by his countenance declared the intrepidity and defiance with which he had acted. If he was heard in his own vindication, it was only for curioſity, to diſcover the ſpirit of the man. He was therefore condemned : But even under the hands of the executioner, when one upbraided him that his country was taken, he replied, ' That he therefore embraced death as a conſolation and relief.' What Mucianus had long purpoſed and concealed, he now communicated as no more than his immediate ſentiments upon the preſent ſituation, ' That ſince by the benignity of the Gods the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would Domitian proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and intercept the glory due to another : Indeed, were the Empire threatened with peril, or were the Gauls in general expoſed to danger, it behoved the Emperor's ſon to venture his perſon in battle. To contend with the Canineſates and Batavians ſmaller Leaders were to be aſſigned. Let Domitian retire to Lyons, and from thence diſplay the power and fortune of the Empire at hand, neither engaging in diminutive hazards, nor failing to meet ſuch as were greater.' Theſe his artifices were well underſtood ; but here, in a good meaſure, depended the merit of obeying, that they were not to ſeem diſcovered. Thus they came to Lyons. From thence Domitian is believed to have tried, by ſecret inter-agents, to corrupt the fidelity

fidelity of Cerialis, and proposed whether he would commit into his hands the Army and Empire, if he came in person. Uncertain it remained what designs possessed him, whether he meditated a war against his father, or to arm himself with power and forces against his brother. For by sage management and evasions Cerialis eluded his suit, as that of one who with a childish fondness longed for things wild and vain. Domitian perceiving that the elder men despised his youth, began to relinquish all functions of government, even the smallest, and such as he was wont to dispense. Under the guise of simplicity and an humble mind, he buried himself in solitude, feigning a zeal for learning and the love of poetry, thence to conceal his passions, and to escape the jealousy of his brother, upon whose gentle nature, so different from his own, he put a contrary and malevolent construction.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.



